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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

ISRAEL

PART 6

January to December 1954

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FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING
ISRAEL—PART 7

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

VR 1011/1

No. 1

ISRAEL: ANNUAL REVIEW FOR 1953

Sir Francis Evans to Mr. Eden. (Received January 7, 1954)(No. 264. Confidential) Tel Aviv,
Sir, December 8, 1953.

In the brief despatch No. 33 of the 13th of February last, covering my annual report for 1952, I had the honour to comment on the feeling of insecurity by which the Government of Israel were then oppressed as a result of the year's events. This sense of insecurity has not abated with the passage of another year; if anything, much that has happened in the course of the twelve months has intensified it.

2. The prevailing sentiment in Israel, as relations with her Arab neighbours and, in some respects, with the Western world are contemplated, is one of frustration and resentment. For five years Israel has been faced with the determined refusal of the Arab States to consider the replacement of the current armistice, which halted hostilities after the Arab attack upon Israel of 1948, by a more substantial agreement. The absence of any normal and peaceful regulation of Arab-Israel affairs keeps Israel (and, indeed, the Arab States) burdened with an overwhelming and costly armament. The maintenance of economic pressure by the Arab countries on Israel severs her from access to natural nearby markets and sources of supply; it imposes on her an extra financial burden by forcing her to find supplies from distant points. The outstanding example is oil, which, even when obtained as heretofore from Middle Eastern sources, has had to move by the immensely long Cape route instead of through the Suez Canal, but which now must be bought still more expensively in the Caribbean fields and paid for in scarce currencies. The continued existence of an involved, irrational and unsettled frontier encourages border unrest. The vested interests, both strategic and economic, of Western countries in Arab territories tend to prevent them from giving Israel the full measure of support that a common democratic and philosophic outlook might

justify. All these factors combine to maintain and intensify the sense of insecurity so apparent in 1952, and to raise to dangerous pressure Israel's already intense impatience with a situation so unsatisfactory and so apparently insoluble by peaceful means. On top of all this, her relations with other countries, not only with the West but with the Soviet bloc, have suffered deterioration.

3. In the military sphere, a series of occurrences has heightened Israel's impatience. The year opened on the agreement of Her Majesty's Government to permit the Arab States to buy certain types of arms, a proceeding which, in the view of the Israel Government, tended to disturb the balance of armament in the Middle East to the military disadvantage of Israel, and to encourage the Arabs in their intransigence. The long and still uncertain negotiations between the United Kingdom and Egypt about the Suez base keep Israel in a state of alarmed suspicion lest the base and its stores and facilities should be turned against her after passing into Egyptian hands without safeguard. Conditions on the frontiers worsened despite the introduction of arrangements designed to improve matters; infiltration for murder, robbery and smuggling continued to harass the border settlements of Israel, and the consequent feelings of unease and frustration of the Israel Government received expression at the end of January in an ugly raid by armed Israelis, almost certainly a disciplined detail of the country's organised forces, on certain frontier villages of Jordan. Casualties were inflicted on the villagers, including women and children. This raid was to become the pattern for a series of similar Israel attacks throughout the year on frontier districts of Jordan and Egyptian-occupied territory, from or through which persons bent on depredation of one kind or another most frequently entered Israel. There can be little doubt that the reprisal raid was adopted as the standard method

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by which the Israelis sought to discourage predatory infiltration and to remind their hostile neighbours of the undesirability of making open war on her. Jordan appears to have become the victim of the majority of the reprisal raids, partly because most infiltration derived from Jordan (naturally enough in view of the sufferings of the Palestinian Arabs in the 1948 war), but possibly also because her army, British-trained and British-led, constituted the principal rival in efficiency to her own, and the most urgently, therefore, to be deterred.

4. It is possible that the culminating incident of this kind, the murderous attack in mid-October on the Jordan village of Qibya, was in the nature of a desperate effort to resolve the Arab deadlock by forcing on the consciousness of the United Nations the explosive character of Israel-Arab relations, in the hope that influence, perhaps pressure, could be brought to bear on Jordan to come, on some points of difference at least, to terms. However, the unqualified and universal condemnation which Israel's action aroused, and the lack of success attending her efforts to exploit the affair to her advantage, have been a grave disappointment to her, and it remains to be seen whether Israel's uncertain patience will stand the strain of continued frustration, and of undiminished border tension and hostile economic pressure.

5. Events in the economic field have not helped to reduce Israel's feeling of insecurity, although substantial progress was made in the development of the country's capital equipment and agriculture. The economic boycott of Israel, begun over five years ago by the Arabs, has continued with ever-growing stringency, and although far from decisive in its effect on this country's well-being, it has, as already indicated above, achieved some substantial results. In addition to costing Israel several million dollars since 1948 in extra charges for petroleum and petroleum products brought from afar, it has in the past year led foreign companies vulnerable to Arab pressure, some of which have interests in Israel vital to her economy, to consider seriously the question of withdrawing from this country in order to protect their more important interests in the Arab world. The boycott has already induced more than one foreign company to dispose of its local interest and in the case of others has turned the balance, already weighted by exchange difficulties or uneconomic conditions of business, in

favour of withdrawal. This has, in turn, raised an issue between Israel and the parent countries of the companies concerned of no slight embarrassment to both.

6. The temporary suspension of American aid during the brief period of Israel's recalcitrance in the matter of the Huleh water dispute, seriously alarmed the Israel Government, and served notice to them that the flow of American governmental assistance was by no means to be taken for granted. The early, not to say precipitate, restoration for domestic political considerations of the suspended grant-in-aid, somewhat relieved Israel fears, but the lesson has been taught, and it has heightened Israel's uneasy awareness of her economic vulnerability to political influences far beyond her control. The rejection by the United States Government of Israel's request for a loan with which to fund her immediately embarrassing short-term obligations was another blow, and the continued inability of the British Government and British commercial and financial interests to furnish extensive credit or to engage in substantial investment has done nothing to give Israel economic reassurance. The almost fortuitous circumstance of Western Germany's reparations payments, valuable and comparatively long continuing though they promise to be, has been by far the brightest spot in the otherwise unpromising field of Israel's economic relations with other nations. She has, it is true, concluded trade agreements with several countries including France, Finland, the Netherlands and Norway, and has contracted barter deals with one or two others, but the solid fabric of economic stability is not woven of such slender threads.

7. Much, nevertheless, has been done to regulate Israel's finances, to expand industrial production, and to manufacture in Israel classes of products hitherto mainly imported. New cement works, glass factories, plants producing tyres and other rubber goods, metal-working industries, textile and clothing factories, even a brewery, have come into operation. To such an extent has this industrial development progressed that the supply of raw materials has been in some cases inadequate and their provision in sufficient quantity has become difficult in the face of exchange shortage. But at the same time the output of electric power has been doubled, railways have been extended and improved by links of both industrial and strategic value

and roads have been paved and widened, serving many new settlements and bringing older ones into better communication with the rest of the country. Extensive irrigation and hydro-electrical schemes have been begun, offering the prospect of a wide extension of Israel's agriculture, the reclamation of the desert, and the provision of cheap and plentiful power for agricultural and industrial development.

8. Here again, the dispute with Syria and the adverse decision of the United Nations Chief of Staff supervising the observance of the Armistice have interfered with Israel's confident schemes for irrigation and the development of water-power. On the use of the waters of the Jordan depend her plans for reclaiming the less irreclaimable areas of the Negev: plans which contemplate the production of sufficient food, animal and vegetable, to sustain a population of two or three times that which at present lives somewhat precariously, with foreign help, within Israel's narrow limits. Seeing the Lebanon well and adequately watered by the many streams which flow through her small area; seeing Syria dependent to only a small extent on the Jordan's tributaries; seeing Jordan with free and full access to the Yarmuk, Israel looks on the waters of the River Jordan as no more than her fair share of the available water resources of the region. I find it hard to deny out of hand and in its entirety the claim of so energetic and constructive a people, who have already worked great changes in a land too long neglected or dismissed as hopelessly arid, to the use of natural resources of which too much has too long been allowed to go to waste. It is not unnatural that in this matter, Israel finds herself frustrated, and is in consequence resentful and recalcitrant.

9. Immigration, which to the enthusiastic Zionist means the life and security of Israel as the "saving remnant" of the Jewish people, has fallen off since the influx of the great communities of Mediterranean and oriental Jews came to an end. There remains the large mass of over two million Russian Jews, whose emigration to Israel the Soviet authorities will not countenance. Their inability to come is doubly a source of frustration to Israel: it imposes on her a delicacy in her relations with Russia which ill conforms to the ideology of the mass of her people, and at the same time it prevents her aligning herself fully and demonstratively with the Western world,

with which she feels herself to be philosophically identified. The Russian Jews, from among whom sprang the present leadership of Israel, are needed to restore the balance between the dynamic European element in the country and the intensely foreign orientals, whose full assimilation will be a matter of a generation or more, and whose profoundly different standards of living and way of life are a threat to the Western pattern desired and sought by the present rulers.

10. The position of the Jews in Russia and the satellite States is thus a matter of deep concern to the Israelis. In 1952, the Slansky "plot" against the Czechoslovak Government, involving a number of Jewish Communists in that country, was taken in Israel as a clear indication of the opening of a period of persecution of the Russian and satellite Jews. Subsequent events have abated the fear of such a development, but have by no means removed it. By the beginning of 1953, feeling in Israel was running high, and early in February the extremist element, always hovering on the edge of homicidal mania, gave characteristic expression to their passion by bombing the Russian Legation. The Russians would have been most unusually tolerant to let this outrage pass without emphatic reaction; it was not unexpected therefore that they seized the excuse to break off relations with Israel. However, for reasons of their own and after a somewhat abject approach by Israel, they agreed to the resumption of diplomatic intercourse after four months of withdrawal. The shock to Israel of the rupture was severe; the event gave comfort to her Arab enemies, and by forcing her from her neutral stance and placing her among those in opposition to Russia, it weakened her diplomatic position in relation to the West.

11. Soon after its inauguration, the new Government of the United States made it evident that they did not feel themselves bound to support Israel to the extent that had been the policy of Mr. Truman's Administration. While asserting America's continuing friendship for Israel, Mr. Dulles made it clear that he considered the Arabs to be worth cultivating too, and the despatch of envoys to review Arab arms needs and water requirements aroused no little alarm in Israel lest Arab strength should be unduly fortified by American aid. The uncompromising American position on Jerusalem following the move of the Foreign Ministry from Tel Aviv was an

unpleasant surprise; even more unpleasant was the readiness of almost all countries with missions in Israel to follow suit. No less a blow has been America's censorious attitude towards Israel's dubious border adventures. With regard to Britain, her special position in relation to Jordan is accepted and understood, and the British part in the recent censure of Israel by the Security Council was not unexpected. Nevertheless, it is felt here that Anglo-Israeli relations are in a period of decline, a matter of no little regret in view of the widespread respect for the United Kingdom existing here. Britain is seen as having failed to use her influence with Jordan towards the conclusion of peace, and, as mentioned already, she is condemned for having so far given no indication of safeguarding Israel against the hostile use by the Egyptians of the base and stores at Suez, or of insisting on the reopening of the Canal to Israel's oil and other strategic traffic. In the United Nations, Israel's failure to exculpate herself in the Qibya affair showed a strong set of the tide of opinion against her, and nothing has yet emerged from the Huleh dispute to give her comfort. All in all, the year has been a depressing one for her in the field of foreign relations.

12. These, then, are some of the ingredients of which Israel's insecurity is compounded. Added to them is the feeling that Israel is of little consequence to the Great Powers, absorbed as they are in the broader drama of a world conflict of ideologies. The Israelis see little prospect of the Western or indeed the United Nations taking effective measures to restore peace, real peace, to this area. Their enemies, often allied, as for instance in the question of Jerusalem, with nations whose approach is dictated by special considerations, religious or political, have managed to sustain their cold war upon them. They see Great Powers, because of their own special interests, or even in pursuit of more universal and unselfish interests, apparently deferring to the increasingly demanding, increasingly arrogant, yet essentially weak Arab Governments. They lose hope of securing the full support from the West which, by virtue of their genuinely democratic outlook and practice, they consider that they deserve. They doubt the ability of the United Nations to right what they see as injustice wrought against them, and there is danger that they may doubt the capacity of the United Nations and the guaranteeing

Powers to intervene effectively should war break out with their hostile neighbours. Given the singleness of purpose of the Jews, their self-concentration, their pertinacity, and the dedication of a people whose continued existence for two thousand years has been made possible only through the exercise and development of such qualities, it is inevitable that pressure should be built up under frustrations such as I have indicated, which sooner or later may well find release in aggressive action.

13. It is perhaps the burden of anxiety for the future of the experiment of which to so great an extent he was the author and director that has led David Ben Gurion to lay aside the leadership of Israel and seek a meditative retreat in the desert lands of the Negev. There, as did the prophets of old, to whom he feels himself to be close, he will hope to receive the inspiration which will enable him at least to point the way to security for the people of Israel. It is, perhaps, well for Israel and the surrounding area, that he has gone into retreat at this time. His departure removes one who has come to be regarded as the main pillar of the Jewish national edifice; whose authority has come to be accepted as well-nigh absolute. In his place there will be a Prime Minister, able and efficient, but without the prophet-like, the almost messianic, standing of his predecessor. The accession of Moshe Sharett, long concerned with foreign affairs, may and probably will bring defence into subordination to foreign relations, a desirable change in this country where defence has understandably been the favoured child in the family of national requirements. The replacement of an aggressive personality by one used to diplomacy and compromise may modify Israel's often unco-operative demeanour towards other nations. The temporary elimination—it is not thought that it will be more than temporary—of the figure which has strongly dominated a series of coalitions, will undoubtedly mean that matters of international import will be discussed and debated rather than disposed of summarily, passionately and too often recklessly. Some relaxation of tension is therefore to be hoped for from the Israel pole; unless, however, there is greater inclination towards peace from the other side, the Israel potential will remain high, and the danger of the spark's discharge will grow ever more imminent. This is the lesson of 1953 in Israel; it is the direction in which events have pointed. Israel suffers

under a sense of insecurity; nevertheless, she feels confident—as a people who regard themselves as “the Chosen” must—in her future. Possessed and driven by a sense of urgency of purpose as she is, her very confidence in herself and her people, in their present strength and in their potential power, makes her the more impatient as

she sees her path to prosperity and to security for the sorely-tried Jewish people obstructed by the complications of current history.

14. I enclose a short chronological list of the major events of the year.

I have, &c.

F. E. EVANS.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS FOR 1953

January 7.—Israel Ambassador in London protested to the Secretary of State at the delivery of arms by Her Majesty's Government to the Arab States.

January 15.—The Executive Committee of the Histadrut decided to bar members of the Communist Party from any official position within the Histadrut. Communists holding official positions would be removed.

January 29.—Israel forces attacked the villages of Falama and Rantis, inside the Jordan frontier.

February 5.—Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador informed the Israel Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Her Majesty's Government's concern at recent events which had increased the tension on the frontier.

February 9.—A bomb was exploded at the Soviet Legation in Tel Aviv.

February 12.—The Soviet Government broke off diplomatic relations with Israel.

March 10.—The Land Acquisition Law passed.

March 22.—The Communist daily newspaper *Kol Ha'am* was suspended by the Ministry of the Interior for ten days for “endangering public peace.”

March 23.—The High Court gave the paper permission to resume publication pending enquiries.

March 24.—The Compulsory Property Tax Law was passed by the Knesset.

March 26.—The new road from Beersheba to Sdom was officially opened.

March 28.—Entry into force of the Reparations Agreement with Western Germany.

April 14.—The Israel Ambassador in London requested consultations with Her Majesty's Government on aspects of the Anglo-Egyptian talks about the Canal Zone which were of interest to Israel.

April 20.—Fifth anniversary of Israel's Independence.

April 25.—The Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervisory Organisation, General Riley, announced his resignation.

April 27.—A special ministerial committee was set up to consider the problem of unemployment.

May 15.—Arab workers in Israel permitted to join the Histadrut.

May 16.—Formation of a new fellow-travelling political party, the Israel Left Socialist Party.

May 25.—Resignation from the Cabinet of the General Zionist Ministers over a dispute as to whether the “Red Flag” and the Labour hymn should be permitted in Government schools on May Day and on the Histadrut Day.

May 26.—Arrival of a Yugoslav Military Mission.

June 3.—Return to the Government of the General Zionists.

June 7.—Visit to Israel of Mr. Adlai Stevenson.

June 8.—A new Local Commanders' Agreement signed between Israel and Jordan.

June 9.—General Bennike appointed Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervisory Organisation in succession to General Riley.

June 9.—The Israel Government announced the discovery of a terrorist group plotting to overthrow the régime.

June 14.—Establishment of the Ministry of Development. Dr. Dov Joseph appointed Minister.

June 15.—The Prime Minister of South Africa, Dr. Malan, arrived in Israel for a stay of two days.

June 23.—The Histadrut decided to apply for membership of the International Confederation of Free Trades Unions.

July 9.—A Franco-Israel Commercial Agreement signed.

July 13.—Israel Ministry for Foreign Affairs transferred to Jerusalem.

July 21.—Diplomatic relations between Israel and the Soviet Union resumed.

August 12.—State Education Bill passed by the Knesset.

August 14.—Arrival of the first cargo of reparations goods from Germany.

August 26.—The Knesset passed the National Service for Religious Women Bill and the Marriage and Divorce Bill.

August 28.—The Knesset approved the Ordinary Budget for 1953–54, amounting to £1,216,330,000.

August 28.—Attack by armed Israelis on a refugee camp at Bureij in the Gaza Strip. Some twenty persons were killed.

September 2.—Work started on the Ben'ot Ya'acov Development Scheme on the Jordan, which was subsequently the subject of a Syrian complaint to the United Nations.

September 8.—Local Commanders' Agreement extended for three additional months.

September 9.—In a letter addressed to the President of the Security Council, the Israel Government accused Egypt of violating her international obligations by detaining a Greek vessel bound from Haifa to Eilat with a cargo of asphalt.

September 10.—Celebration of the Jewish New Year 5714.

September 20.—Opening of the Fourth Maccabiah Games.

September 21.—The Cabinet approved a Foreign Exchange Budget totalling \$233 million.

September 22.—Opening of the “Conquest of the Desert” Exhibition.

September 29.—Israel Army autumn manoeuvres began.

September 29.—Egyptian complaint that Israel forces had occupied El Auja in the demilitarised zone near the Egyptian border.

October 14.—Attack by Israel forces on the Jordan village of Qibya.

October 19.—At the request of the United States of America, France and the United Kingdom, the Security Council of the United Nations met to consider Israel-Arab tension, with particular reference to the Qibya incident.

October 19.—Suspension by the United States Government of Grant-in-Aid to Israel on account of the latter's non-compliance with the request of the Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervisory Organisation to stop work on the Benat Ya'acov Development Scheme.

October 25.—Opening of Jerusalem Economic Conference designed to acquaint Jewish leaders abroad—primarily American Jewry—with Israel's economic achievements since 1948, and her plans for further development.

October 28.—President Eisenhower's special envoy to the Middle East, Mr. Eric Johnston, arrived in Israel to discuss water development plans with the Israel authorities.

October 28.—United States Government resumed Grant-in-Aid to Israel after an announcement by Israel Government that they had ordered a temporary stoppage of work on the Jordan Development Scheme.

November 2.—The Israel Foreign Ministry announced that two Israel citizens, Mr. Shimon Orenstein and Mr. Mordechai, had been sentenced in Prague to life and fifteen years' imprisonment respectively, on charges of espionage and treason.

November 2.—Mr. David Ben Gurion officially announced his wish to resign as Prime Minister on grounds of extreme fatigue.

November 12.—The Israel Government proposed in the Security Council that senior political and military representatives of Israel and Jordan should meet at the United Nations' Headquarters to discuss Armistice problems, and especially the prevention of border incidents. The Jordan representative stated

that he was only empowered to discuss the Qibya incident then under consideration by the Council.

November 23.—Israel requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations to summon a conference between Israel and Jordan under the terms of Article XII, paragraph 3, of the Israel-Jordan Armistice Agreement.

November 24.—The Security Council of the United Nations adopted a resolution voicing the strongest censure on Israel for the attack by armed forces on the Jordanian village of Qibya.

December 1.—The new Soviet Minister, M. Abramov, arrived in Israel.

December 6.—Aluf M. Dayan succeeds Rav Aluf M. Makleff as Chief of Staff of the Israel Defence Forces.

December 7.—Mr. David Ben Gurion submitted to the President his resignation as Prime Minister.

December 8.—Local Commanders' Agreement between Israel and Jordan renewed for a further three months.

December 9.—Mr. Moshe Sharett, the Foreign Minister, was invited by the President to form a new Government.

December 19.—The Israel Government lodged a formal protest with the Security Council against the confiscation by Egypt of 140 tons of meat being carried in an Italian ship from East Africa to Israel via the Suez Canal.

December 24.—Meeting, in Jerusalem, of the Zionist General Council.

December 26.—Death of the United States of America's Ambassador to Israel, Mr. Monnett B. Davis.

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No. 2

FORMATION OF A NEW GOVERNMENT BY Mr. SHARETT

Mr. Moore to Mr. Eden.

(No. 21. Confidential)

Sir,

Tel Aviv,

February 2, 1954.

In his despatch No. 263 of the 8th of December, 1953, Sir Francis Evans reported the resignation on the 7th of December of Mr. David Ben Gurion as Prime Minister and Minister of Defence. On the following day the President invited the Foreign Minister, Mr. Sharett, to form a government. On the 25th of January, 1954, after a delay of seven weeks, Mr. Sharett presented his Government to the Knesset which, after a two-day debate, approved a motion of confidence by 75 votes to 23. The Communists, Mapam, Herut and Agudat Israel (extreme orthodox religious party) opposed the motion; the Progressives and Polei Agadut Israel (a moderate orthodox religious party) abstained.

2. Mr. Sharett's Government is almost identical with that led by Mr. Ben Gurion, the only change being the withdrawal of the Progressive Party. This leaves vacant the post of Minister of Justice, formerly held by the leader of the Progressive Party, Mr. P. Rosen. Mr. Sharett retains the post of Foreign Minister, and Mr. P. Lavon becomes Minister of Defence. Mr. Z. Aranne is confirmed in the post of Minister without Portfolio, in which capacity he has acted since Mr. Ben Gurion's resignation. The post of Minister of Justice has been left vacant for the present in the hope that the Progressives may yet decide to join the Government. In the meantime, the Ministry will be supervised by the Prime Minister. A complete list of the new Cabinet is enclosed in Annex "A" to this despatch.

3. It is, at first sight, surprising that the Government crisis should have been so prolonged since there eventually emerged a Coalition almost identical with that presided over by Mr. Ben Gurion, and one committed to virtually the same policy. The delay must be attributed principally to a general disposition among political parties in Israel to exploit any opportunity of strengthening their own position at

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the expense of their political opponents. Regardless of the damaging effect of a prolonged crisis on the reputation of the State, Mr. Ben Gurion's resignation provided all parties with an opportunity which none could resist, although it was apparent from the outset that no single party could hope to achieve any appreciable improvement in its overall position in the Government and in the country.

4. The primary responsibility for the prolonged bargaining between the parties rests with the General Zionists who, as the price of their continued participation in the Coalition, sought to impose conditions which, from their previous experience, they must have known to be unacceptable, if not to Mapai, at least to their other Coalition partners. Their demand for a General Zionist Deputy Prime Minister and a General Zionist Deputy Minister of Education, and their insistence on the introduction of a Bill denying representation in the Knesset to parties obtaining less than 10 per cent. of the total vote in a general election, aroused strong opposition. Mapai, by far the strongest party in the Knesset, not unnaturally resented this attempt by the General Zionists to increase their influence within the Cabinet, whilst the proposed Bill on Knesset representation was firmly opposed by the numerically small Progressive Party. Agreement was eventually made possible when the General Zionists modified their demand. This they eventually did partly from a belated sense of responsibility coupled with a realisation that their party's reputation in the country was suffering through the prolongation of the crisis, and partly from uneasiness lest the possibility of a coalition between Mapam and Mapai should be realised. The agreement eventually concluded between the General Zionists and Mapai omits several of the claims made by the former during the early bargaining. The demand for a Deputy Prime Minister has been dropped, and the appointment of a Deputy Minister of Education, though accepted in principle, has been put aside for discussion in the Cabinet. No final decision has been taken on the Bill relating to representation in the Knesset, but it is known that the General Zionists are now prepared to consider its modification to apply to parties polling only 4 per cent., or even only 3 per cent., of the total vote. A summary of the agreement reached between the two parties is enclosed as Annex "B."⁽¹⁾

5. A formal agreement (Annex "C")⁽¹⁾ has also been concluded between Mapai, the General Zionists and the Religious Parties, Hapoel Hamizrahi and Mizrahi. Here again, agreement was only reached as the result of a compromise. The Religious Parties had hoped initially to secure an undertaking from the Government to prohibit the raising of pigs in Israel, which practice is anathema to the orthodox community. Such a prohibition would, however, have been highly objectionable to the majority of Israelis who, even where they remain to a considerable extent religious, are prepared to abandon the detailed observance of the Mosaic and Talmudic laws, when these conflict with the normal demands of modern life. It has consequently been agreed to devote further thought to the whole problem and in the meantime to restrict pig-raising "to the minimum." It is left to the Cabinet to decide what this minimum figure should be.

6. The only real sufferers from these tortuous and lengthy negotiations have been the Progressives, a small but generally respected group, who now find themselves in a vacuum between Government and Opposition. Their principles and traditions naturally incline them towards the Coalition parties and away from the Opposition of the extreme Left and Right. They are, nevertheless, unable to reconcile themselves to the proposed Bill on Knesset representation which, even if amended to include a 3 per cent. clause, might conceivably eliminate the party. There is, however, a chance that Mapai and the General Zionists will be able to devise some arrangement which would protect the interests of the Progressives and prepare the way for their re-entry into the Coalition.

7. The difficulty which has been experienced in forming a Coalition might suggest that Mr. Sharett's Government can have only a short expectation of life. This does not necessarily follow. It is in the interest of all the parties in the Coalition that the present Government should be maintained as long as possible; nor does any party feel confident that new elections would be to its advantage. So long as the State of Israel remains in a malleable condition, and it will inevitably do so for many years, all parties stand to gain by participation in the Government, which provides them with an opportunity to fashion the new institutions, which are constantly emerging, according to their own design, and to shape, and to their own specifications, the traditions upon which the State will be built in the future.

⁽¹⁾ Not printed.

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B* 2

This applies with particular force to the General Zionists, who well realise that the only real alternative to the present Coalition is a Government dominated by Mapai and Mapam. Since such a combination would be a serious setback to their conception of a state organised on liberal principles, the General Zionists have a strong interest in keeping the present Coalition together.

8. There is unlikely to be any sharp alteration in the policy followed by the previous Government. In foreign relations, Mr. Sharett's leadership should ensure a more moderate and realistic approach to international problems. At the moment, he is sufficiently strong to resist demands for a more dynamic and dramatic policy towards the problem of relations with the Arab States. His ability to withstand this pressure in the future will, however, depend upon the success he is able to achieve by conciliation and negotiation.

9. In domestic affairs, the General Zionists may be expected to press Mapai hard for a further relaxation of financial and economic controls. It is in this direction that the true weakness of the Coalition lies. Mapai, in spite of its alliance with the Right-Wing General Zionists, remains a true Socialist party, committed to the creation of a State-planned economy, based on the development of co-operative enterprises. The General Zionists, on the other hand, proclaim themselves as a liberal party, pledged to the free exercise of private enterprise. These two extremes can never be satisfactorily reconciled, and agreement on economic affairs can therefore only be achieved by compromise. So long as this unnatural alliance of Left and Right persists, the State is consequently bound to suffer from the lack of a consistent and planned economic policy.

10. I am sending a copy of this despatch and enclosures to Her Majesty's Representatives at Washington, Amman, Beirut, Baghdad, Damascus, Cairo and to the Head of the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

A. R. MOORE.

Enclosure 1

ANNEX "A"

Mr. Sharett's Cabinet

Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs: Moshe Sharett, Mapai.
Minister without Portfolio: Zalman Aranne, Mapai.
Minister of Finance: Levi Eshkol, Mapai.
Minister of Posts: Joseph Burg, Hapoel Hamizrahi.
Minister of Commerce and Industry: Peretz Bernstein, General Zionist.
Minister of Education and Culture: Ben-Zion Dinur, Mapai.
Minister of Development: Dov Joseph, Mapai.
Minister of Defence: Pinhas Lavon, Mapai.
Minister of Labour: Golda Meyerson, Mapai.
Minister of Agriculture: Peretz Naphtali, Mapai.
Minister of Communications: Joseph Serlin, General Zionist.
Minister of Health: Joseph Sapir, General Zionist.
Minister of Interior: Israel Rokach, General Zionist.
Minister of Police: Behor-Shalom Shitreet, Mapai.
Minister of Social Welfare and Religious Affairs: Moshe Shapiro, Hapoel Hamizrahi.
Minister of Justice: (Vacant).

Enclosure 2

Tel Aviv Letter 1011/7/54 of February 2 from Mr. Moore to Mr. Falla, Levant Department, Foreign Office

My despatch on the new Government No. 21 and dated to-day has been partially overtaken by last-minute developments.

2. It was announced this morning that the Progressive Party had decided, after all, to enter the Government, and that Mr. P. Rosen had been sworn in as Minister of Justice. The decision to rejoin the Coalition was taken at a meeting

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of the Party's Executive on Sunday night and approved by the narrow majority of 10 votes to 8.

3. The dispute with the other Coalition parties over the proposed Bill on Knesset representation remains unresolved. Mr. Sharett has apparently given the Progressives an assurance that the Government will defer consideration of the Bill until the summer session of the Knesset in mid-May. He has, however, dashed their hopes of an indefinite postponement of its introduction by announcing that changes in the Electoral Law remain part of the Government programme. In reply to this declaration, the Progressives have reserved the right to withdraw from the Government should the proposal be approved by the Cabinet.

4. I am sending a copy of this letter to Beeley at Washington, Stephenson at the British Middle East Office, Richmond at Amman, Gallagher at Damascus, Scott at Beirut, Mackenzie at Baghdad, and Duke at Cairo.

VR 1121/1

No. 3

REPORT ON ISRAEL'S EXTERNAL TRADE POSITION

Sir Francis Evans to Mr. Eden. (Received February 25)

(No. 41 E. Confidential)

Tel Aviv,

Sir,

February 22, 1954.

I have the honour to report that provisional figures for 1953 which have just been released by the Central Bureau of Statistics and Economic Research, show a marked improvement in Israel's external trade position. Calculated at the former exchange rate of £1.1=\$2.8 Israel's exports and re-exports totalled in value approximately £1.21 millions, an increase of £1.5 millions (31 per cent.) over the 1952 figure, while the cost of her imports declined by some £1.8 millions (7 per cent.) to approximately £1.102 millions. The trade deficit has thus apparently been reduced to a monthly average of rather less than £1.7 millions as compared with £1.8 millions in 1952, and the ratio between the cost of imports and of exports is about five to one. But any attempt to assess the real significance of these figures first necessitates examination of the setting in which they are presented.

2. A steady reduction in expenditure on imports, except foodstuffs, fuel, and the raw materials which are required for industrial expansion is in line with the late Government's policy of retrenchment. Indeed it would be difficult to defend the import of any non-essentials into Israel to-day, and their elimination may be regarded as an essential contribution towards economic stability. The presence of certain semi-luxury goods on the market, e.g., tinned foods, for which there is a ready demand, is perhaps explained by the Government's unwillingness to interfere with private efforts to introduce such articles provided there is no direct loss of foreign exchange to the Exchequer. That this practice is injurious to the country's best interests seems, however, undeniable. By contrast it is satisfactory to note that larger quantities of food have been grown in recent months. The wider local cultivation of wheat, sugar, oils, &c., which has been recommended by a F.A.O. mission will, it is hoped, in time enable the Government to reduce still further the annual sums which have to be set aside for their purchase. However, as Israel must for long import all her fuel, some 50 per cent. of her food and most of the raw materials for her industries, there is a limit to the extent to which the overall import programme can be cut.

3. While the importance of Government action to control imports has long been recognised it is only comparatively recently that the Government have vigorously set about promoting an export drive. The expansion of Israel's exports—especially manufactured goods, over the past few months shows signs of continuing in 1954. Many hopes have been pinned to a rapid development of the country's external trading relations. Under Mr. Sharett's new administration the climate seems set fair for further progress in this direction. Even the Histadrut have realised that living standards and real wages cannot be raised unless the trade deficit is reduced, and they have agreed to lend full support to a campaign for increased productivity and the education of the public on these lines. It is premature to expect any early relaxation of controls in foreign currency, which the major parties in the Coalition Government have agreed to study in due course,

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and which in the view of industry's more conservative circles would lead to still greater opportunities abroad; but various devices have lately been introduced to encourage potential exporters, who can now expect sympathetic assistance from Government departments.

4. The application of the official exchange rate of £1.1=\$1, plus an 80 per cent. premium, to the proceeds of almost all exports is a step forward welcomed by Israel's producers and manufacturers, particularly by the citrus growers who were obliged to argue their case for several weeks before obtaining this concession from the Government. Since Israel's staple export is citrus fruit, the necessity of keeping its price low enough to enable it to compete successfully in its traditional European markets should be obvious to all. Exporters in search of new and more permanent markets derived additional encouragement in 1953 through the strengthening of Israel's economic representation in her missions abroad; through exhibition promotion; and through official backing in their efforts towards greater industrial efficiency coupled with improvement in the quality, packaging and delivery quotation of goods for export. Israel's interest in developing her trade outlets to the maximum is shown also by the announcement of her intention of participating in a number of international fairs this year. Johannesburg, Brussels, Chicago and the International Food Show in London have claimed her attention, in addition to the fairs at which she was represented last year—Bari, Izmir, Salonika, Stockholm. Israel has also recognised the importance of State fairs in the United States.

5. Israel's exports fall, broadly speaking, into three categories; citrus and its by-products, polished diamonds, and manufactured goods. While citrus producers may be induced gradually to increase their crops through credits and agricultural investment—the replanting of abandoned Arab groves continues steadily—no startling increase in this type of export can be expected for several years to come. Provided, however, she can compete in price and quality there exist ready markets for Israel's crop, and Russia and Germany may now be added to the list of European purchasers. The export of diamonds, mainly to the United States, depends very largely on allocations from the International Diamond Board and the opportunities for further expansion are limited. It is accordingly in the sphere of industrial products that Israel's best chances of rapidly swelling her export figures lie. The total value of manufactured goods exported by Israel in the course of 1953 was approximately £1.8 millions as against £1.5 millions in 1952, an increase of 60 per cent. (estimated at rate of £1.1=\$2.8). The main products which are being diverted into export channels and their principal destinations are listed at Annex A and Annex B respectively. It should be noted that a very high proportion of these exports last year went to Finland and Turkey, a fact which has evoked some comment and doubts as to the wisdom of concentrating attention on a few markets where the demand may be only temporary. Of the other recipients of Israel's manufactured goods the most promising customers appear to have been the Netherlands, Belgium, Norway, the United Kingdom and the United States. Israel's ability to produce these industrial exports depends of course largely on her capacity to pay for the raw materials which are needed in their manufacture. But the proportion of her foreign exchange receipts derived from direct exports is very small (less than 20 per cent.). The National budget, and hence indirectly the export programme, is likely in consequence to be upset by any marked change in the amount of income or goods received from Germany under the Reparations Agreement or the United States, whether through Grant-in-Aid funds or Jewish appeals. A reduction in Israel's imports of capital goods and machinery required for industrial and agricultural development, or even a slight reduction in the import of vital raw materials, could have an immediately adverse effect on her ability to expand exports. The alarm aroused by the brief suspension for political reasons last October of the United States Grant-in-Aid was convincing evidence of the dependence of the country's economic and financial arrangements on external factors.

6. The United States remains still Israel's principal supplier. But the extent to which Israel is obliged to rely on imports from Germany under the Reparations Agreement is becoming increasingly apparent. Since they will account for a very large percentage of all the imports into the country in 1954 and may well continue to do so for the next ten years the Israel authorities watch every political and economic development in Germany with keen interest, not to say anxiety, lest a future régime attempt to dishonour its predecessor's obligations. But while

their preoccupation with the achievements of the purchasing mission at Cologne is readily understandable, it could also lead to a cramped view of Israel's long-term interests and indirectly reduce the effectiveness of her bid to increase her export trade. For anxiety to finance every type of import with reparations funds leads to the confusion of orders, and occasionally to expensive and ill-considered purchases in Germany, when supplies of equally suitable material are available more economically elsewhere. At the same time Israel can hardly expect to find new markets for her manufactured products unless she allows readiness to accept from them imports of at least comparable value in return.

7. The Israel Government, particularly the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, favour the conclusion of trade agreements, and agreements concluded with Denmark, Finland, France, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Turkey and Yugoslavia cover one-third of the country's exports. Israel also has payments agreements with Argentina and Iceland. However, there seems no disposition to interfere with normal trade channels where these are satisfactory, e.g., with Austria, Belgium, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom; and where it has seemed to their advantage to adopt less orthodox methods, e.g., bank agreements as with Persia and Ethiopia or barter exchanges as with Russia and Hungary, the Israelis have been quick to do so.

8. Israel has lately been much occupied in negotiating with Turkey and Finland the scope of exchanges under new trade agreements for 1954. Negotiations will shortly begin for the renewal of trade agreements with the Netherlands and Yugoslavia; and for a barter agreement with Hungary. Trade with Russia, conducted on a barter basis, at present centres on the exchange of citrus and bananas against fuel oil. Israel is also now paying serious attention to the possibilities of increased trade with Roumania, Bulgaria, Greece, Burma and Japan and the consumer markets offered by East Africa and the South American States.

9. There has been a good deal of talk lately about the advantages of stronger trade ties with Russia and the countries of Eastern Europe. This stems partly from the feeling that with one or two notable exceptions the potentialities of a vigorous Israeli economy are being ignored by Western Europe, and partly from a wish to assert a greater degree of political independence from the West. At all events Russian willingness to trade oil and other raw materials in return for citrus has aroused much favourable comment and repetition of such exchanges of goods, even on a temporary basis, may prove beneficial to Israel's economic development. In this connection it is noteworthy that soon after his arrival here M. Abramov, the new Soviet Minister, stated that he considered the enlargement of trade relations with Israel to be among his tasks. In return for coal, timber, wheat and oil which were available in Russia, Israel, he said, could find there an outlet for consumer goods, for example textiles and light industrial products. The subsequent appointment to his staff of a commercial attaché forecasts a strengthening in trade relations between the two countries.

10. Unofficial calculations by the Ministries of Finance and Commerce and Industry set the probable value of Israel's exports and re-exports in 1954 at upwards of £1.25 million (on the old rate of exchange) of which industrial exports would account for nearly half. Motor vehicles, textiles, cement and potash are, according to this estimate, the industrial exports which promise the best returns. This optimistic forecast is presumably based on the supposition that there will be no considerable change in the foreign currency income derived from the United States and German reparations during the coming year.

11. From the foregoing paragraphs it will be seen that while the opportunities for further reductions in the import field are limited, there are legitimate expectations for a modest expansion of Israel's export trade with a number of countries in 1954. Whether the momentum of her industrial production will thereafter be sufficient to achieve still further expansion in the world's markets can as yet be a matter of speculation only. A great deal depends on Israel's ability to compete with other manufacturing countries with a reputation for delivering goods of a reputable quality, at reasonable prices and on normal commercial terms. To do this the Israel exporter will have to cope with rising costs of labour and material and content himself with lower profits than he has expected in the past. This will for him be a severe test of the seriousness of his intentions. On the other hand there are certain factors in Israel's favour. Turkey, whose potential custom for Israel's manufactured goods appears large, is conveniently located at Israel's front door, and freight rates to the Balkan countries and Russian ports

are relatively cheap. Undoubtedly these efforts to conquer new markets could form the basis of a worthwhile contribution to the reduction of the deficit. But the significance of Israel's trade figures lies ultimately in the extent to which they show the country to be dependent on unearned receipts from abroad. Despite the improvements recorded above, the degree of dependence remains terrifyingly large, and there would seem little prospect of its changing substantially in the next few years.

12. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Treasury, Her Majesty's Treasury Representative, Cairo, Commercial Relations and Exports and Export Credits Guarantee Department of the Board of Trade.

I have, &c.

F. EVANS.

ANNEX A

INDUSTRIAL AND MANUFACTURED GOODS EXPORTED FROM ISRAEL

Alarm clocks.	Phosphates.
Antibiotics.	Polished diamonds.
Artificial teeth.	Potash.
Batteries.	Pressure cookers.
Cement.	Plywood.
Ceramic ware.	Radios.
Colours.	Raincoats.
Cotton yarns.	Rayon.
Combed wool yarns.	Razor blades.
Crystals.	Refrigerators.
Drugs.	Religious articles.
Fancy goods.	Ropes.
Faucets.	Rubber goods.
Footwear.	Stationery.
Glass ware.	Stoves.
Jeeps.	Sheet glass.
Knitted goods.	Sulphuric acid.
Motor cars.	Tyres.
Nylon stockings.	Textiles.
Paints.	Watches.
Pencils.	Wines.
Pipes.	Wood screws.
Pistons.	Woollen cloth.
Pharmaceuticals.	

ANNEX B

EXPORTS BY COUNTRY OF DESTINATION

(in £I. '000)

(Source: Bank Leumi)

Country		1952		1953	
		Jan.-July	Jan.-July	Jan.-July	Jan.-July
All countries	...	10,659	13,592		
United Kingdom	...	3,795	4,786		
United States	...	2,115	2,315		
Finland	...	860	1,491		
Netherlands	...	344	609		
Norway	...	213	507		
Belgium	...	195	371		
Turkey	...	134	1,001		
Denmark	...	379	350		
Sweden	...	382	309		
U.S.S.R.	...	340	200		
Switzerland	...	219	200		
Austria	...	263	143		
Other countries	...	1,420	1,310		

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EXPORTS BY MAIN COMMODITIES

(in £I. '000)

(Source: Bank Leumi)

		1952		1953	
		Jan.-Sept.	Jan.-Sept.	Jan.-Sept.	Jan.-Sept.
Total	...	12,122	15,646		
Citrus	...	5,004	6,722		
Bananas	...	—	22		
Fruit juices	...	1,091	714		
Chocolates and sweets	...	76	76		
Textiles	...	926	1,403		
Plywood	...	40	111		
Cement	...	15	308		
Drugs and medicines	...	59	121		
Rubber tyres and tubes	...	3	90		
Passenger cars	...	591	548		
Other vehicles	...	—	524		
Diamonds	...	2,902	3,279		
Miscellaneous	...	1,415	1,728		

UNITED KINGDOM/ISRAEL TRADE

(According to B.O.T. Statistics)

	U.K. Exports	U.K. Imports	Total Trade	U.K. Surplus
	£	£	£	£
1950	9,482,000	5,127,000	15,609,000	4,355,000
1951	11,796,000	6,162,000	17,958,000	5,634,000
1952	8,291,000	5,857,000	14,148,000	2,434,000
1953	8,442,217	6,283,163	14,725,380	2,159,054
	38,011,217	23,429,163	61,440,380	14,582,054

VR 1091/15

No. 4

(1)

ARAB ATTACK ON AN ISRAELI PASSENGER BUS IN THE NEGEV

Sir Francis Evans to Mr. Eden. (Received March 18)

(No. 65)

(Telegraphic)

Tel Aviv,

March 18, 1954.

My immediately preceding telegram.

Following is text of communiqué:—

"The Government of Israel expresses its revulsion and horror at the murderous attack by an organised Arab force on a passenger bus in the Negev, which was carried out as a military operation and which resulted in the cold-blooded killing of eleven men, women and children and the wounding of three others," the Government declared.

"The Government of Israel regards this attack as a clear warlike act, responsibility for which falls squarely upon the Government from whose territory this unit of murderers was sent forth across the border into Israel territory to carry out this dastardly deed."

"The series of wanton acts of hostility by neighbouring Arab States against Israel has reached a new climax with this latest outrage."

"The Government of Israel will take all necessary measures within its power to ensure that the blood of Israel citizens will not be shed with impunity. All steps will be taken to safeguard the security of travellers along the roads of the Negev so that movement will continue without hindrance."

"The deepest sympathy of the people of Israel goes out to the families of the victims of the massacre."

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VR 1073/20

(2)

Sir Francis Evans to Mr. Eden. (Received March 22)(No. 71. Confidential)
(Telegraphic)*Tel Aviv,
March 22, 1954.*

Foreign Office telegram to me No. 144: Israel-Jordan border.

Head of Chancery learned last night from Vigier in Jerusalem:—

- (i) that investigation was completed without decisive evidence that murderers either came from, or fled to Jordan, although the tracks led towards Jordan border;
- (ii) that he thought it unlikely that Hutchinson, Chairman of Israel-Jordan M.A.C., would be obliged to abstain.

2. I fear that unless U.N.T.S.O. and Western Powers are able to give Israel some satisfaction, there will be a very strong outcry against ineffectiveness of United Nations machinery, Sharett's position will be very gravely weakened (see my telegrams Nos. 67 and 69) and that, if another similar incident occurred, he might be unable to prevent reprisals on a scale which would lead to war. I regard this as a very serious possibility.

3. Following measures may help to reduce this danger:—

- (i) If the Chairman of M.A.C., instead of simply abstaining for lack of evidence, made a statement concerning the incident, explaining that while there was no evidence on which Jordan could be held responsible, there was a considerable likelihood that the murderers had fled across the Jordan border and calling on the Jordan Government to continue to take all possible measures to trace them.
- (ii) If the Jordan Government could make a public statement explaining the measures they had taken and would continue to take.
- (iii) Her Majesty's Government could announce publicly, sympathy with Israel; support for M.A.C. decision; and that they had urged the Jordan Government to agree to the request at end of (i) above.

4. Suggestion at paragraph 3 (i) would be a departure from M.A.C. precedent, but Vigier, to whom Moore made the suggestion last night, was not opposed. Perhaps it could be suggested to the Secretary-General of the United Nations that, in the interests of the authority of U.N.T.S.O., General Bennike should be urged to adopt it.

VR 1091/13

(3)

Mr. Furlonge to Mr. Eden. (Received March 18)(No. 137)
(Telegraphic)*Amman,
March 18, 1954.*

My telegram No. 135: Bus incident.

Following is translation of further Press release issued by Jordan Press Office.

An official Jordan source denied any Jordan connection, official or otherwise, with the attack on the Jewish bus which took place within the occupied territory, and which now forms the subject of a Jewish complaint to the Mixed Armistice Commission. However, Jordan's attitude to frontier incidents is that aggressions such as this one are abhorrent regardless of their authorship.

VR 1073/23

(4)

Mr. Furlonge to Mr. Eden. (Received March 23)(No. 144. Confidential)
(Telegraphic)*Amman,
March 23, 1954.*

Tel Aviv telegram No. 71: Bus incident.

However genuinely the Israeli Government may feel convinced of Jordan guilt in this affair, the Jordan Government and people are at least equally convinced of their innocence. Their additional measures against infiltration have been described in General Bennike's report to the Security Council. In the present case they have co-operated 100 per cent. with the Truce Supervision Organisation and

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Israel. I have seen no evidence to refute Glubb's theory that the gang came from Gaza or Sinai and after the crime went some way towards the Jordan frontier in order to mislead pursuit, subsequently turning south and returning whence they came by another route. On the contrary, failure of Glubb's special patrols to find any trace of the gang in the very open country east of the site of the crime creates the strong presumption that they did not (repeat not) cross the Jordan frontier in the manner suggested. Unless such evidence is produced, actions suggested in (i) and (iii) of paragraph 3 of telegram under reference would appear unfair to Jordan and likely to arouse justified indignation against M.A.C. and Her Majesty's Government.

VR 1074/44G

No. 5

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE ISRAELI AMBASSADOR ON MARCH 26, 1954

Mr. Eden to Sir Francis Evans (Tel Aviv)(No. 60. Secret)
Sir,*Foreign Office,
March 26, 1954.*

I asked the Israeli Ambassador to come to see me this afternoon, when I said that I wanted to repeat the regret of Her Majesty's Government at the tragic disaster which had recently taken place to the bus in the Negeb. I knew that we had already expressed the official sympathy of Her Majesty's Government, but I wanted to add my own, and to talk to the Ambassador about the situation we now had to face.

2. The Ambassador thanked me, and said that the official expression of the sympathy of Her Majesty's Government had had a very good effect in Israel, where it had been widely published. I said that I was sorry that the Government of Israel had withdrawn their representative from the Mixed Armistice Commission. I quite understood the feelings that the bus incident had aroused. At the same time, the Ambassador would understand that where the evidence was inconclusive other countries would not feel able to give a verdict. On the other hand there was clearly a risk in present conditions of further incidents leading to even greater danger, and it was the duty of statesmanship to examine what could be done.

3. As a consequence, we had in the last day or two been considering at the Foreign Office whether there was any initiative that we could usefully take, in the light of our Treaty relations with Jordan and our friendship with Israel. On balance I was coming to the conclusion that perhaps the best method of handling the matter was to try to bring about a meeting of the Security Council to examine the situation. Such a meeting, as the Ambassador would understand, could not be called on the basis of

Israel's request. On the other hand, I understood that General Bennike's report was in any event due to be examined, and this might be an occasion for consideration of the Israel/Jordan problems without prejudice to any charges or counter-charges. I had not yet finally determined whether such a course was possible, but I thought it likely that I should shortly consult both the United States and French Governments in the matter, in view of the special responsibilities they shared with us as a result of the Tripartite Declaration of 1947.

4. The Ambassador said that he was greatly relieved to hear what I had said, and that he hoped very much that I would pursue the course I had in mind. He was really apprehensive that if nothing was done the situation would become increasingly serious. He knew my views about the importance of avoiding any incidents in the meanwhile, and he could assure me that the Israeli Government would do everything in their power to ensure this. But opinion was highly inflamed, and if no action of any kind were taken, the Government's task in counselling moderation would be a very difficult one indeed. The Ambassador went on to ask me whether I had any idea what the American reaction to such a proposal from us would be. I said that I had not, but I knew they were also concerned about the situation. His Excellency said that he had seen from press reports that the Americans did not favour a meeting of the Security Council, and he feared that this might be because the officer concerned in the findings by the Mixed Armistice Commission was an American.

5. I told the Ambassador that I thought it would be most helpful if as a result of the calling of a meeting of the Security

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Council the Israeli Government could review and if possible reverse its decision to withdraw from the Mixed Armistice Commission. His Excellency said that he would report what I had said to his Government, but that meanwhile he wished me to understand that this particular action was not intended to indicate any breach with the United Nations as such, but was a gesture which the Government felt they had to make in view of the incident in the Negev. I replied that I understood this, but it was none the less important that the Mixed Armistice Commission should be reconstructed at the earliest possible moment.

6. In conclusion, I again emphasised the need for secrecy in what I had told the Ambassador, and for restraint in Israel during the next few days. I undertook to keep his Excellency informed of any progress I might make on the lines that I was contemplating.

7. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Amman, Bagdad, Beirut, Cairo, Damascus, Jedda, Paris and Washington, to Her Majesty's Consul-General, Jerusalem, the head of the British Middle East Office, Fayid, and also to the United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations at New York.

I am, &c.

ANTHONY EDEN.

VR 1072/34

No. 6

THE ARAB-ISRAEL SITUATION

Sir Francis Evans to Mr. Eden. (Received April 1)

(No. 65. Confidential) Tel Aviv,
Sir, March 30, 1954.

The violent political reaction in Israel to the inability of the United Nations Truce Supervisory Organisation to secure evidence fixing responsibility for the murderous attack of the 17th of March against an Israeli bus travelling in the Negev must, if it is to be correctly understood, be interpreted in relation to the general political situation between Israel and the Arab States.

2. In his telegram No. 153 of the 25th of March, Mr. Furlonge described the Israel reaction as hysterical and lent his support to the view of the Jordan Government and General Glubb, that the border problem is not susceptible of solution through high-level political conferences, but can be dealt with only by patient co-operation between the Israel and Jordan Governments in the Mixed Armistice Commission, and between the local commanders of police and troops on either side of the frontier. If it were possible to treat the problem of the Israel-Jordan border in isolation, I would subscribe unreservedly to this view, and would be ready to agree that Israel's attitude to border incidents was more to be condemned than Jordan's: for example, the furore and the moral indignation aroused by the recent brutal murders in the Negev is in marked contrast both to the almost total lack of comment in Israel on the killing of

Arabs in the Gaza Strip, referred to in Mr. Moore's letter to Mr. Baker, of the 15th of September, 1953, for which Israel was condemned by the Mixed Armistice Commission, and also to the failure of the Israel Government to accompany their formal expression of regret for the suffering caused by the massacre at Qibya, by even an expression of condemnation of the Israeli settlers allegedly responsible, let alone by punitive action against them. Most recently there is what promises to be the equivocal attitude of the Israel Government reported in my telegram No. 90 to the Foreign Office on the reprisal raid carried out by Israelis last Sunday night in the village of Nahalin.

3. In my view, however, it would be mistaken to interpret the Israel Government's present reactions, or to attempt a forecast of their future policies, in relation only to the border problem. It would also, I believe, be most unwise for Her Majesty's Government to develop their own policy toward the Arab-Israel conflict on the basis of so restricted an interpretation.

4. In my despatch No. 260 of the 8th of December last year, I attempted to describe the feelings of frustration, isolation and growing alarm which beset the majority of Israelis when they surveyed the situation of their country in relation to the surrounding Arab States, and I expressed the opinion that unless there was some change to Israel's

advantage in the way events were developing, it would be unwise for Her Majesty's Government to assume that Israel would not seek to remedy her situation by force of arms. The events of the last four months have served only to confirm this opinion.

5. From Israel's point of view, a variety of recent events has served to increase her possibly neurotic, but nevertheless very real, fear that Israel is becoming increasingly isolated and without support in her conflict with the Arabs, and that the policies of the Western Powers, as developed both individually and in the United Nations, are encouraging the Arab States to believe that they can accentuate their hostility to Israel unchecked.

6. The conclusion of the recent pact between Turkey and Pakistan (a militant Moslem State with a record of hostility to Israel) and the suggestion, generally believed to have the support of the United States, that this pact should be extended to include Iraq; the United States commitment to deliver arms to Iraq; the recent rejuvenation of the project for a union between Syria, Iraq and possibly Jordan; the failure of such representations as the United States Government, Her Majesty's Government, and the Secretary-General of the United Nations have felt able to make to the Government of Iraq to secure the release of three Israeli passengers incarcerated by the Iraqis, when the aircraft in which they were travelling was forced to land in Bagdad; the slow development of discussion in the Security Council of Israel's complaint about Egypt's refusal, in the face of a Security Council resolution, to allow passage through the Suez Canal to Israeli vessels, or even to neutral vessels bound for Israel ports if carrying certain cargoes; the intention of the Security Council to refer to the Mixed Armistice Commission Israel's complaint about Egyptian firing in the Gulf of Aqaba on Israeli and other ships bound for Elath; the insidious and successful extension of the Arab States' economic boycott, exemplified by the recent cancellation, in response to pressure from Saudi Arabia, by the Scandinavian Air Services of the halt at Lydda by their Far East Service; all have served to reinforce Israel's fears.

7. If Israel's future policy is to be accurately gauged, it is against this background of alarm that one must examine Israel's contentions, dramatized by her recent decision to walk out of the Israel-Jordan Mixed Armistice Commission, that the Armistice Agreements signed between

Israel and the Arab States in 1949 "with a view to promoting the return of permanent peace in Palestine," to quote paragraph 1 of the agreements, are now out of date; that the machinery of the United Nations Truce Supervisory Organisation is no longer adequate to preserve the Armistice; and that the Western Powers should, in the interests of peace in the region, take a decisive initiative to persuade the Arab States to make peace with Israel. Israel's claim that the Armistice Agreements are moribund is, therefore, not principally based on the continuing dangers of the situation on the Israel-Jordan border, but rather on the absolute neglect by the Arab States of the intention of paragraph 1 of the agreements, to which I have referred above. In the case of Jordan, this unwillingness to accept the intention of paragraph 1, even as an aim, has been complemented by a refusal to consider the implementation of Article VIII of the agreement. This calls for the formation of a special committee, consisting of representatives of both sides, to consider the enlargement and improvement of the agreement, and in particular such questions as access to Mount Scopus, the Holy Places, &c. Finally, so Israel claims, the refusal of the Jordan Government to accept the Secretary-General's convocation to a conference to discuss, at Israel's request, and in accordance with Article XII of the agreement, revision of the armistice itself, has demonstrated the derelict condition of the agreement as a whole. This, then, is the case which the Israel Government are determined, by every means of publicity and political pressure, to force constantly on the attention of the Western Powers.

8. As I explained in my despatch No. 260 of the 8th of December last, there are powerful groups in Israel which argue that if the Western Powers will not, or cannot, oblige the Arab States to carry out the intention of the Armistice Agreements to make peace then, in view of the growing military strength of the Arabs, and their declared policy of destroying Israel, there is no alternative but for Israel to take the initiative and face the risks of war to consolidate her own security. Those who advocate this course argue that Israel cannot rely on the Tripartite Declaration which, as Sir E. Chapman-Andrews pointed out in his letter to Mr. Allen, of the 11th of March, 1954, guarantees nothing, nor upon the United Nations, whose ineffectiveness has been demonstrated by their failure to secure observance

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even of the principle of safe passage through the Suez Canal, in which the Great Powers are themselves directly interested. They argue that as neither the United Nations nor the Great Powers were prepared to intervene in 1948 when the Arabs attacked Israel in defiance of the General Assembly's resolution of November 1947, establishing the boundaries of the State of Israel, it is unlikely that they would act decisively or swiftly if Israel resumed the hostilities which were interrupted by the Armistice Agreements.

9. As a deterrent to those who hold these opinions, there remains the Anglo-Jordan Treaty, and it is undoubtedly a powerful one. On the assumption that Israel had decided on force, it might be that the existence of the treaty would lead her to attack in the first place Syria, which is unprotected by any treaty or alliance. However, it is perfectly possible that the Israelis might calculate that, provided the immediate occasion for hostilities was, or could be made to appear, sufficiently advantageous to Israel, Her Majesty's Government would hesitate to face the political difficulties at home, and the hostility of very powerful sections of public opinion in the United States, which a war with Israel in defence of Jordan would involve.

10. In his despatch No. 213 of the 28th of December, 1953, commenting on mine of the 8th of December, Sir J. Troutbeck expounded very cogent arguments why it was not possible for Her Majesty's Government to compel the Arab States to modify their policy towards Israel. Similar views were advanced by Mr. Furlonge in his despatch No. 211 of the 21st of December, 1953, and by Mr. Gardener in his despatch No. 3 of the 3rd of January, 1954. If this be so, then I am forced to the conclusions that the relations between Israel and the Arab States can probably only be established by the arbitration of force; that sooner or later there will be a resumption of hostilities, and that since the Israelis believe the balance of power to be moving against them, such a resumption may well come before very long, say within the next five years, and possibly much sooner.

11. Since Great Britain would evidently, by virtue of her alliance with Jordan, be very closely affected by a renewed war, Her Majesty's Government must clearly continue to do everything in their power to prevent it. The principal weapon at our disposal would appear to be the Anglo-Jordan Treaty. This instrument, I suggest,

acts at present in two ways: in so far as it deters Israel from aggression, it is wholly beneficial; to the extent that the protection which it affords to Jordan allows the Jordanian Government to identify themselves without protest with the uncompromising and irresponsible policy of the Arab League towards Israel, its influence on the Palestine problem is harmful. Indeed, it is conceivable that if it were not for the security afforded by the Anglo-Jordan Treaty and, to a lesser extent, by the Tripartite Declaration, the Arab League as a whole might, if faced directly with the military strength of Israel, be more inclined to pursue a realistic and compromising policy.

12. It is perhaps possible, though from the reports forwarded by Her Majesty's representatives in the Arab States on the Arab attitude towards the Palestine problem, I imagine highly improbable, that we could influence the Jordan Government's policy, and to some extent the policy of the Arab League, by suggesting that we would not necessarily, in all circumstances, be prepared to defend Jordan from an Israeli attack if she, and the other Arab States, persisted in an uncompromising policy which, in our opinion, made such an attack more likely.

13. The chance of success from this form of pressure is clearly small, and since we could not denounce the Anglo-Jordan Treaty without abandoning our whole position in the Arab world, the serious danger of our being involved in war with Israel would remain. An alternative to reducing Arab irresponsibility by diminishing the security afforded to Jordan by the Anglo-Jordan Treaty, would be to attempt to reduce Israeli aggressiveness by furnishing Israel with some positive guarantee of security. This could be done by Her Majesty's Government concluding a treaty with Israel, thereby creating a situation analogous to that established by the Locarno Treaty. Alternatively, the Tripartite Declaration of May 1950 could be reaffirmed, and perhaps redrafted, so as to contain a positive guarantee to Israel.

14. Whether or not it is found practicable to pursue any of these courses, it would in my opinion be advisable to consult urgently with the United States Government on the military and political implications of Her Majesty's Government being involved in war with Israel through the Anglo-Jordan Treaty. In particular, I suggest there would be great advantage in making a determined

effort to secure assurances of the political support of the United States Government in such a contingency.

15. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives in Washington, Paris, Cairo, Amman, Bagdad, Beirut, Damascus, Jedda, to the Head of the

British Middle East Office, the United Kingdom Delegate to the United Nations, and to Her Majesty's Consul-General in Jerusalem.

I have, &c.

F. E. EVANS.

VR 1072/38

No. 7

CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE ISRAELI AMBASSADOR ON APRIL 6, 1954

Arab-Israel Frontier Dispute

Mr. Eden to Sir Francis Evans (Tel Aviv)

(No. 70. Confidential) *Foreign Office, April 6, 1954.*

I asked the Israeli Ambassador to come to see me this morning, when I said that he would no doubt have seen the message sent by the Prime Minister to Mr. Sharett. His Excellency said that he had, and that the Israeli Government would of course give careful and respectful attention to a message from one who had done so much for the Zionist cause. He understood that a reply would be forthcoming in the next day or two.

2. I said that his Excellency should know that this message was an indication of the deep concern which the Prime Minister sincerely felt. We all shared it.

3. As to the question of raising the issue of Israel's borders before the Security Council, the Ambassador would know what had been my desire, namely, that the Three Powers who signed the 1950 Declaration should have done so jointly. I still hoped this might be possible in some form. Meanwhile the Lebanon had raised the issue of Nahalihin, and Israel had formulated some counter-charge, so there was bound to be a discussion ranging over the whole field. I had been preoccupied as to how we could turn these events to good advantage. In the first place, I hoped that as a result of this discussion, or at some stage during it, the Government of Israel would demonstrate its good intentions by returning to the Israel-Jordan Mixed Armistice Commission. Then, as to the handling of the dispute, in view of the fact that the Soviets were likely to use the veto, I thought it might be desirable to work through a small sub-committee, perhaps under United Nations Chairmanship and

with the participation of Israel and Jordan. This sub-committee would endeavour, without publicity, to work out practical suggestions for the improvement of border supervision and the prevention of infiltration.

4. The Ambassador appeared to welcome this initiative, and said that he had been instructed by his Government to thank me for the tireless efforts I had been making, particularly during the last few weeks, to prevent this dangerous issue between Israel and the Arab States from becoming more serious. He must tell me that if matters were allowed to drift, calamity was inevitable. Even if final solutions could not be reached, it was most important to get back at least to uneasy peace. The Israeli Government well understood my efforts in this direction, and would do all they could to help. They were not wedded to paragraph 12 for its own sake. Of course they would have to make their reservations about that, but they would really like to try to get on with their contracts with Jordan again.

5. I said that I welcomed this, and that I thought the Government of Jordan had shown remarkable restraint in view of recent incidents. For my part, I felt this dispute keenly, for we had clear obligations towards Jordan, with whom we had an alliance, and towards Israel, with whom we wished for sincere friendship.

6. I told the Ambassador I had noticed of late a disquieting tendency for Israel to pile up minor complaints in the Mixed Armistice Commission. What was this for? I presumed only in order to have a stock of grievances in readiness for the next public debate on the border situation. Was this really necessary?

7. The Ambassador replied that Jordan followed much the same practice, and he assured me that the preparation of the catalogue had no other purpose except for the record.

8. In conclusion I warned the Ambassador once again that Israel must continue to exercise patience, in view of the calamities which would ensue on the resumption of war between Israel and Jordan. I did not myself believe for a moment that the Arabs had the slightest intention of renewing the war unless provoked to do so. As I saw it, our task was to increase co-operation over the frontier situation, so as to try to avoid the continuance of present danger.

9. As regards the Security Council discussions, I said that I would inform

Sir Pierson Dixon of our conversation, and that I was sure he would work for the kind of sub-committee, including the parties, which we thought most useful, and which we hoped the Israeli Government as well as the Jordan Government would accept. The Ambassador seemed gratified at this prospect.

10. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Amman, Bagdad, Beirut, Cairo, Damascus, Jedda, Paris and Washington, the Head of the United Kingdom Delegation at New York and the Head of the British Middle East Office at Fayid.

I am, &c.

ANTHONY EDEN.

VR 11111/3

No. 8

APPROVAL BY THE ISRAELI PARLIAMENT OF THE BUDGET FOR THE YEAR COMMENCING APRIL 1, 1954

Sir Francis Evans to Mr. Eden. (Received April 8)

(No. 71 E. Confidential)

Tel Aviv,

April 6, 1954.

Sir,

With reference to my despatches Nos. 117 E. and 197 E. of 1953, I have the honour to inform you that after prolonged and laborious debate the Israel Budget for the fiscal year beginning on the 1st of April, 1954 amounting to £1.571 millions, received the final approval of the Knesset on the 31st of March by a large majority. Some 300 amendments, most of them tabled by the Opposition, were rejected. The detailed figures for revenue and expenditure, which have been subjected to close scrutiny by the Finance Committee, but remain substantially unaltered from the form in which they were originally presented, are set out in the Annex to this despatch.

2. In introducing the estimates six weeks ago the Minister of Finance, Mr. Eshkol, drew attention to the need firmly to base future budgets on the now effective exchange rate of £1.1·8=\$1 (£1.5·04=£1). This, he said, was in conformity with the Government's anti-inflation policies; only thus could the stability of prices be safeguarded. Mr. Eshkol declared that Government subsidies for basic foods and commodities would continue, but the extent of the governmental contribution would now be apparent to the ordinary citizen and no longer disguised by the complicated machinery of the Price Equalisation Fund. The collection of income and property taxes would be rendered more efficient and more severe penalties would be imposed on those who sought to evade their liability; where necessary, amendments to existing tax legislation would be introduced. There would also be considerable increases in the incidence of indirect taxation on luxuries such as alcoholic beverages, tobacco, motor-cars and gift parcels, but customs duties on "necessary commodities" would not be increased.

3. The swollen dimensions of the 1954-55 Budget require explanation. Its total exceeds by nearly 50 per cent. the combined totals of last year's Ordinary Budget (£1.216 millions) and Development Budget (£1.175 millions); the latter having now been brought into the general accounting system. The expansion in the figures for expenditure appears to be due mainly to the following factors:—

- (a) the effect of the application of the new exchange rate to the requirements of the Ministries for Defence and Foreign Affairs;
- (b) the expected rise in the cost of living, affecting wages and salaries of Government employees;

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- (c) the incorporation into the budget of the Equalisation Fund;
- (d) the provision of substantial sums to cover the amortisation of debts and the establishment of a revolving fund.
- (e) a substantial increase in the funds allocated to "special budgets."

Funds appropriated for development, details of which have not yet been determined, account for considerably less than one-third of the State's annual expenditure.

4. On the revenue side some £1.260 millions are due to be provided out of taxation, of which income tax claims £1.105 millions. Anticipated receipts from abroad (counterpart funds of United States Grant-in-Aid and German Reparations, and the Independence Loan) account for nearly £1.200 millions. When considering these round figures it should be remembered that at the end of 1953 Israel was in deficit on account of her current budgets to the tune of well over £1.50 millions, mainly through the loss sustained in the Equalisation Fund. It should be borne in mind too that unless the State's real income in the next twelve months corresponds very nearly to the paper forecast, the whole structure of the estimates will be in danger of crumbling.

5. A comparison with last year's budget allocations to the various Government departments shows that the principal beneficiaries in 1954-55 are the Ministries of Health, Education, Labour, Finance, Police, Defence and Foreign Affairs. Of these the two latter incur part of their expenditure in foreign currency, and the new exchange rate may perhaps account for the expansion of their requirements. Despite a protest from the Opposition the items which make up the Defence budget have not been disclosed to the public. Additional frontier duties were cited as an example of the increased burden falling upon the Ministry of Police. In addition to the above, special budgets in 1954-55, of which no details are obtainable, are allotted no less than £1.59 millions as against £1.25 millions last year. It is thus clear that within the framework of the national finances the Government have reserved for themselves considerable room for manoeuvre on security grounds, should the occasion arise.

6. Despite criticism from all parties represented in the Chamber Mr. Eshkol's new budget has been reasonably well received by the Israel Press and public in general. This is the more surprising when one considers that the individual will undoubtedly begin to feel the pinch of austerity during the coming months. While doubt is expressed whether the burden of State expenditure in Israel remains in keeping with the capacity of the economy to bear it (the deficit in the 1953-54 budget is hardly reassuring), there is satisfaction at the Treasury's realistic approach to the balance sheet and recognition that the increase in "ordinary" expenditure is more apparent than real. Adherents of a smaller budget have been unable to show how and where significant cuts might be made. On the other hand it has not escaped notice that there has hitherto been a discrepancy between the Government's declared financial intentions and their economic practice; and that the steep increase in indirect taxation, which is a main feature of this budget, may not be sufficient to counter the inflationary effect of rising prices. Measures which the Government may soon have to adopt to combat the threat of widescale unemployment could also radically upset the budgetary calculations.

7. The critics admit that from a technical point of view the budget is a success. But they recognise that the real test will come later on, when the impact of the proposed retrenchments in the economy and the extent of the country's adaptability to the new "climate" can be more properly measured. The incorporation of development funds into the general estimates is by and large approved, for experience has shown that separation tends to encourage their use for stop-gap measures and to affect the system of priorities for projects of major importance.

8. The acceptance of the Budget has been accompanied by an announcement of the appointment of a ministerial committee to consider ways of reducing administrative expenditure. The saving to be achieved in this direction must perforce be limited, and public opinion remains sceptical of its achieving any striking or early results.

9. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Washington, the Head of the British Middle East Office at Fayid, the Development Division of the British Middle East Office at Beirut, Her Majesty's Treasury Representative at Cairo, Her Majesty's Treasury, and to Commercial Relations and Exports and Export Credits Guarantee Department of the Board of Trade.

I have, &c.

F. E. EVANS.

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ANNEX

ISRAEL ORDINARY BUDGET ESTIMATES

1st April, 1954–31st March, 1955

REVENUE

Ordinary Revenue						£l.
Income Tax	...	...	...	...	...	105,000,000
Property Tax	...	...	...	...	...	3,400,000
Land Betterment Tax	...	...	...	...	...	300,000
Inheritance Tax	...	...	...	...	...	500,000
Customs (including fuel)	...	...	...	...	...	75,000,000
Excise	...	...	...	...	...	34,500,000
Luxury Tax	...	...	...	...	...	15,500,000
Selective Sales Taxes	...	...	...	...	...	4,500,000
Foreign Travel Tax	...	...	...	...	...	1,000,000
Entertainment Tax	...	...	...	...	...	3,000,000
Stamp Tax	...	...	...	...	...	2,500,000
Licence Fees	...	...	...	...	...	8,000,000
Land Registration Fees	...	...	...	...	...	800,000
Miscellaneous Services	...	...	...	...	...	5,650,000
Collections to cover expenditure budgets	...	...	...	...	...	3,050,000
From interest and miscellaneous revenue	...	...	...	...	...	13,200,000

Total ... 275,900,000

Posts and Communications

Posts	...	...	...	...	...	20,760,000
Post Office Bank	...	...	...	...	...	140,000
Ports and Airfields	...	...	...	...	...	9,870,000
Railways	...	...	...	...	...	4,330,000

Total ... 35,100,000

Extraordinary Revenue

Reparations' Counterpart Fund	...	...	...	...	...	72,000,000
Grant-in-Aid Counterpart Fund	...	...	...	...	...	80,000,000
Independence and Development Loans	...	...	...	...	...	45,000,000
Repayment of Loans and Government Property	...	...	...	...	...	23,000,000
Development Authority and Sales of Houses	...	...	...	...	...	6,000,000
Compulsory Loan and Property Tax	...	...	...	...	...	9,000,000
Loans from domestic insurance, pension and benevolent funds	...	...	...	...	...	25,000,000

Total ... 260,000,000

Grand Total ... 571,000,000

EXPENDITURE

Ordinary Expenditure

President's Office	...	...	...	...	...	76,000
Knesset	...	...	...	...	...	1,028,000
Ministers	...	...	...	...	...	75,000
Prime Minister's Office	...	...	...	...	...	2,643,000
Ministry of Finance	...	...	...	...	...	12,100,000
Ministry of Defence	...	...	...	...	...	50,000,000
Ministry of Health	...	...	...	...	...	16,560,000
Ministry for Religious Affairs	...	...	...	...	...	2,094,000
Ministry for Foreign Affairs	...	...	...	...	...	9,120,000
Ministry of Education	30,884,000
Ministry of Agriculture	4,690,000
Ministry of Commerce	4,000,000

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Ordinary Expenditure—continued

Ministry of Police	18,845,000
Ministry of Justice	2,496,000
Ministry for Social Welfare	...	...	...	...	...	7,440,000
Ministry of Labour	...	...	...	...	...	9,632,000
Ministry of Development	...	...	...	...	...	473,000
Ministry of Interior	...	...	...	...	...	6,586,000
State Comptroller's Office	...	...	...	...	...	1,049,000
Pensions to wounded, to families of fallen soldiers, and rehabilitation	...	...	...	...	...	4,810,000
Technical aid	...	...	...	...	...	1,500,000
Pensions and compensation to civil servants	...	...	...	...	...	330,000
General Reserve	...	...	...	...	...	5,969,000
Special Budgets	...	...	...	...	...	59,000,000
Interest payments on foreign and domestic loans	...	...	...	...	...	24,500,000
Total	...	...	...	...	...	275,900,000

Posts and Communications

Ministry of Posts	...	...	...	...	...	20,900,000
Ministry of Communications	...	...	...	...	...	14,200,000
Total	...	...	...	...	...	35,100,000

Extraordinary Expenditure

Development Budget	...	...	...	...	...	168,000,000
Debt Repayment—	...	...	...	...	...
Foreign	...	...	...	...	...	33,000,000
Domestic	...	...	...	...	...	5,000,000
Income Tax Advance	...	...	...	...	...	3,000,000
Subsidisation of essential commodities	...	...	...	...	...	26,000,000
Revolving Fund	...	...	...	...	...	25,000,000

Total ... 260,000,000

Grand Total ... 571,000,000

VR 1015/11

No. 9

COMMUNIST VICTORY IN NAZARETH MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

Sir Francis Evans to Mr. Eden. (Received April 22)

(No. 76. Confidential)

Tel Aviv,

Sir,

April 20, 1954.

I have the honour to report that, on the 12th of April, municipal elections were held in Nazareth, still an almost entirely Arab town of approximately 20,000 inhabitants. The election resulted in a victory for the Israel Communist Party which, although it did not obtain an absolute majority, nevertheless secured six of the fifteen seats on the new Municipal Council. Their nearest rivals, the United Western Church Communities, composed of Maronites, Protestants, Roman Catholics and Greek Catholics, obtained three seats. The remaining places were won by the Moslems, and the Eastern Church Communities. Mapam, the only Israeli political party apart from the Communists contesting the election, did not poll sufficient votes to obtain a seat. I am enclosing, as an appendix⁽¹⁾, full details of the election results.

2. The success of the Communists was not entirely unexpected. For some considerable time the Israel Communist Party has been active amongst the Arab minority, and has devoted particular attention to Nazareth as the main centre of Arab life in Israel. Nevertheless, the measure of the Communist victory has

⁽¹⁾ Not printed.

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surprised most political observers and attempts have been made to minimise its significance by recalling that, whereas in the 1951 Knesset elections the Communist vote in Nazareth was 41.2 per cent. of the total poll, the percentage in the recent municipal election had shrunk to 38.4 per cent. These figures, although they may indicate a slight swing away from Communism, are however, insufficient to obscure the fact that the Communist success has come as something of a shock and has caused many people seriously to seek the underlying causes for it.

3. The Communists undoubtedly owe much to their superior party organisation and to their unity, which contrasted favourably with the halting and unco-ordinated efforts of the religious groups, whose long-standing rivalries prevented them, during the election, from presenting a united front against the Communist challenge. The Communists also profited from the growing distrust of the Arab for religious or patriarchal leadership, which has hitherto dominated municipal life and which is, consequently, held responsible for the inefficient management of local affairs. In addition, by adopting an anti-Government stand as part of their electoral programme, the Communists were able to make political capital out of the Arab grievance against the Israel Government for its alleged discrimination against the Arab minority and, in particular, for its retention of military government in the Nazareth district. It is, I believe, these considerations, rather than any support for Communist doctrine, which induced so large a proportion of the electorate to support the Communist list.

4. The final composition of the new Council has not yet been settled. There is a possibility that one or two of the religious groups will join in a coalition with the Communists to spite their religious opponents. There is, on the other hand, a chance that the non-Communist Parties will now recognise the extent of the Communist threat and unite, thus leaving the six Communist members of the Council alone in opposition. Inter-party negotiations, upon which the outcome will depend, are at present taking place and it would be unwise, at this stage, to prophesy the result.

5. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the Head of the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

F. E. EVANS.

VR 1072/83

No. 10

STATEMENT ON FOREIGN POLICY BY MR. SHARETT

Sir Francis Evans to Mr. Eden. (Received May 13)

(No. 89. Confidential) *Tel Aviv,*
Sir, *May 11, 1954.*

I have the honour to report that the summer session of the Knesset opened yesterday with a comprehensive statement on foreign policy by the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, Mr. Sharett.

2. Mr. Sharett's opening remarks were devoted to Israel's security situation, which, he claimed, was still far from satisfactory. The Israel-Egypt frontier, along the Gaza Strip, although now relatively quiet, had in recent weeks been the scene of major clashes between the armed forces of the two countries. Along the Israel-Jordan border there had been a relaxation of tension for several weeks, which Mr. Sharett interpreted as proof that the responsibility for disturbing the border rested with the Jordanians, and that as long as there was no Jordanian attack upon

Israel, calm prevailed. During the past few days, however, "new acts of aggressive violence on the part of the Jordanians" had occurred along various sections of the border. The stubborn refusal of the Jordanian Government to confer with Israel in accordance with its obligations under the Armistice Agreement on ways and means to improve its implementation, made Jordan's responsibility for this deterioration in the situation particularly grave. The new Government at Amman, Mr. Sharett added, would be well advised to give its most urgent attention to this problem and to consider carefully whether it really wished to see a new wave of bloodshed.

3. Mr. Sharett then turned to the consideration, during recent months, of Israel-Arab relations by the Security Council of the United Nations. He laid particular

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stress upon the crippling effect of the Soviet veto of the draft resolutions about the Jordan Waters dispute and Israel's complaint against the blockade by Egypt of the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aquaba. This use of the veto threatened either to paralyse the Security Council as far as problems concerning the Middle East and Israel-Arab relations were concerned, or to turn it into a one-sided instrument capable of use only against Israel. It could have only a negative bearing upon peace and stability throughout the region.

4. The major part of Mr. Sharett's speech was, however, devoted to a critique of the Middle East policy of the United States Government, as recently expounded in two statements by Mr. Henry Byroade. These statements, Mr. Sharett conceded, gave expression to several sound views with which Israel wholeheartedly concurred, such as the advice to the Arab States to accept Israel as a permanent feature of the Middle Eastern scene. It would, therefore, be wrong to regard the statements as specifically and consistently contrary to the interests of Israel. Nevertheless, they did contain certain distortions of basic facts which cast a shadow over the friendly relations which existed between Israel and the United States.

5. Mr. Sharett strongly refuted Mr. Byroade's contention that Israel should cease to regard itself as a centre of world-wide groupings of peoples of a particular religious faith who must have special rights in, and obligations to, the State of Israel. This definition, he asserted, was meaningless and artificial. The Jews were a people—one people throughout the world—the members of which were loyal citizens of their respective States. The world of Jewish brotherhood was based upon a common fate (in the past, in the present and in the future), the world-wide Jewish partnership in the construction of the State of Israel, and upon their spiritual attachment to it. These were fundamental facts of Jewish life. To ask Israel to abandon such a conception would be to ask the State and World Jewry to repudiate the very essence of their existence.

6. Mr. Sharett then proceeded to an equally strenuous rebuttal of Mr. Byroade's references, in his speech before the American Council for Judaism, to immigration to Israel. He said that only a complete lack of insight into the fundamental principles upon which the State of Israel was based, could have led Mr. Byroade to

imply that the Israel Government should terminate the policy of the ingathering of the exiles, and to stabilise population at its present level, in order to assuage Arab fears that further immigration would inevitably lead to territorial expansion. Israel would never admit, as Mr. Byroade had suggested, that no hope remained for the return to the Zion of the 2 million Jews at present behind the Iron Curtain. There was a strong faith that the day of return would eventually come, and when it did the gates of Israel would be open to receive them. There was an equally firm belief in the capacity of Israel, within its present borders, to double and treble its population with benefit to itself and to the entire area.

7. If, Mr. Sharett continued, the Arab States genuinely feared aggression by Israel, they should cease stubbornly to reject all overtures by Israel designed to secure either limited advances towards peace or a final settlement. Their fears of an expansionist Israeli policy could easily be removed by the conclusion of a treaty with Israel, which would commit her formally to remain within her existing boundaries, and offer guarantees of immunity from any aggression by Israel. Arab reactions to such suggestions, including the offer to various Arab States of a non-aggression pact, had, however, been entirely negative. Israel, nevertheless, stood by its previous offers, and in order to remove any misconception Mr. Sharett reaffirmed that Israel was ready at any time to enter into negotiations with any of the neighbouring Arab States concerning either a final and comprehensive peace settlement, or any partial or interim arrangement designed to pave the way towards peace. He nevertheless added the rider, which will no doubt make his offer utterly unacceptable to any of the Arab States, that any settlement with Israel meant a settlement with Israel as it was, that is to say, within the present boundaries and without the readmission of Arab refugees.

8. In closing, Mr. Sharett again reiterated the unshakable opposition of the Israel Government to the supply of arms to the Arab States, so long as the latter persisted in their attitude of avowed hostility to Israel. He was highly critical of the decision of the United States Government to provide Iraq with substantial quantities of military material which would only act as an encouragement to the Iraqi Government to embark upon a war of revenge and

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conquest. He rejected any guarantee which might be obtained from Iraq obliging her to confine the use of arms received from the United States to regional defence.

9. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at

Amman, Beirut, Bagdad, Cairo, Damascus, Washington, Paris and to the Head of the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

F. E. EVANS.

VR 1076/18

No. 11

COMMENTS ON THE UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARDS THE ARAB-ISRAEL CONFLICT

Mr. Moore to Mr. Eden. (Received May 26)

(No. 93. Confidential)

Tel Aviv,

Sir,

May 18, 1954.

In his despatch No. 89 of the 11th of May, Her Majesty's Ambassador undertook to provide early comments on the policy of the United States Government towards the Israel-Arab conflict, and on Israel's reaction thereto. Sir Francis Evans has instructed me to forward to you a despatch on this subject during his temporary absence on leave, and I have therefore the honour to submit the following comments, the substance of which I have discussed with the Ambassador, and with which I believe him to be in general agreement.

2. Since Mr. Dulles' brief tour of the Middle East last summer, United States policy in the region has been unfolding more rapidly and precisely than previously. The general aim seems to be the early creation of a defence system based on an outer crust, harder at the edges than at the centre, furnished by Turkey and Pakistan, together with Iraq and perhaps Persia, and backed up by an orderly, if not militarily strong, area covering the other Arab States and Israel, in which Western bases could be established. The perpetuation of the bitter enmity of the Arab States for Israel is a formidable obstacle to the realisation of these plans. It was to this aspect of the Middle Eastern problem that Mr. Henry Byroade, Assistant Secretary of State in the State Department of the United States Government, addressed himself in two speeches, delivered on the 9th of April before the Dayton World Affairs Council, and on the 1st of May before the American Council for Judaism in Philadelphia.

3. In his first speech, Mr. Byroade presented an admirably clear and objective analysis of the problem as seen from the diametrically-opposed viewpoints of David, a typical Israeli, and Ahmed, a typical Arab. This subject has been so exhaustively examined in many communications from Her Majesty's Representatives in the Arab capitals and from this post, that any summary of the arguments would be superfluous. On the basis of his examination, Mr. Byroade proceeded to offer advice to both sides. He urged the Arabs to accept Israel as an accomplished fact, and the Israelis to make their deeds correspond to their frequent utterances of a desire for peace. To this end, the Israelis should abandon the attitude of conquerors, and their conviction that a policy of force and retaliatory killings was the only one which their neighbours would understand. He also advised them "to truly look upon themselves as a Middle Eastern State and see their own future in that context, rather than as a headquarters or nucleus of world-wide groupings of peoples of a particular religious faith, who must have special rights within, and obligations to, the Israeli State."

4. In his second speech, Mr. Byroade recognised that it was unrealistic to hope for any early settlement of the problem by a peace treaty, and he sought to offer some partial solutions. His principal conclusion was that Arab unreasonableness and intransigence was based on fear of Israel's expansion and that if the situation was to be improved it could only be as a result of action not only by the Great Powers but also, and principally, by Israel to remove this fear. He asked the Arabs to believe that the United States would take their responsibilities under the Tripartite Declaration equally seriously whether aggression came from Israel or from the Arabs. The principal contribution to improving the atmosphere had, however, to come from Israel, and Mr. Byroade listed three ways in which the Israel Government could usefully act.

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5. Firstly and principally, they should seek some way of allaying the spectre, ever present to the Arab mind, of mass-immigration to Israel, which would inevitably impel the Israeli nation to expand. The only two great centres of Jewish population now remaining were the United States and the Soviet Union. There seemed to Mr. Byroade little likelihood that American Jews in large numbers would emigrate to Israel, and he was satisfied that if the Soviet Union should choose to open their gates, it would only be for the purpose of setting the Middle East aflame. Since, therefore, it was unrealistic to expect any further large-scale immigration to Israel, it was surely not asking too much to ask Israel to find some way of laying at rest the fears of her neighbours. In an earlier passage in the same speech, Mr. Byroade had said that he thought it only fair that the Arabs should have the right to know, with far greater assurances than had ever been given, the magnitude of the new State of Israel. Secondly, Israel could approach the problem of compensation to the Arab refugees by steps without arousing the suspicion of the Arabs that their policy was one of total peace or nothing. Lastly, Israel should co-operate in the Mixed Armistice Commissions and the Local Commanders' Agreements to reduce tension on the border.

6. Mr. Byroade described the United States position in the dispute as somewhat "in the middle," and as aiming at sympathetic and impartial friendship for all the States in the Middle East. A British reader may perhaps be excused a somewhat ironical smile at reading Mr. Byroade's rueful claim that because each side was critical of the honest efforts of the United States Government to be impartial, this proved that "in a crude sort of way some progress had at least been made towards the ultimate goal of having both sides feel that we are truly impartial." It is instructive to observe how in the Middle East, as in other parts of the world, the effects of power and responsibility are relentlessly driving the United States Government to abandon the prejudices and sentiments by which their policies were formerly swayed, and to accept the same unpalatable conclusions as have been reached in the past by successive British Governments.

7. In view of the eminently objective and reasonable quality of Mr. Byroade's addresses, it might seem surprising that the greater part of what he had to say has been bitterly attacked by all sections of the Israeli Press and public opinion. I understand that his views have been little more favourably received in the Arab world. This circumstance goes to prove the sad truth of Mr. Byroade's reflection "That both sides in this dispute are guided by the biblical saying, 'He that is not with me is against me.'" Certainly, it is proof of the highly emotional atmosphere which attends all consideration of the problem on either side of the frontier.

8. Apart from cursory acknowledgments of the good sense of his advice that the Arab States should accept Israel as a fact, public opinion here has fastened on Mr. Byroade's references to the relationship between world Jewry and Israel, and to the Arab fear of mass-immigration into Israel. These have, in general, been torn from their context, distorted, and advanced as evidence of his failure to understand the Middle East situation in general, the nature of Israel in particular, and even, in some cases, of his latent anti-semitism.

9. Nobody in Israel has been willing publicly to see any virtue in Mr. Byroade's suggestion that as a matter of practical politics the Israel Government would be wise to reassure the Arabs that they do not envisage early large-scale immigration to Israel of a kind likely to lead to expansion. His suggestion to this effect has been interpreted as an attack on the fundamental principle of the State of Israel, that the country must always welcome any Jew who wishes to come here. The contention that Jews will only be released from behind the Iron Curtain in order to make trouble in the Russian interest has been regarded as evidence of the United States blind preoccupation with the Communist menace, and their failure to appreciate what is widely hoped here to be the real possibility that before long the Soviet Union, and more probably the satellite countries, will think it wise to unburden themselves of the Jewish minorities, who will increasingly identify themselves with centres of resistance to the Communist régimes, and whose services, up till now necessary, especially in some of the satellite countries, will no longer be required. The Israelis' conclusion from Mr. Byroade's contention that the Arab fears of Israeli expansion are reasonable, is that the Arabs should therefore in their own interest seek an early peace with Israel on the basis of the present frontiers and guaranteed by the Western Powers.

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10. Still more emotional, and extremely interesting, has been the reaction to Mr. Byroade's remarks about Zionism and world Jewry referred to in paragraph 3 above. The attitude of the Israeli Zionist was defined by Mr. Sharett in his speech reported in Sir Francis Evans' despatch under reference, when he said, "The Jews are one people throughout the world, the members of which are loyal citizens of their respective States. The world of Jewish brotherhood is based upon a common fate (in the past, in the present, and in the future), on the world-wide Jewish partnership in the construction of the State of Israel, and upon their spiritual attachment to it." The contrast between the attitudes of Mr. Byroade and Mr. Sharett recalls the disputes in the early days of the Zionist movement between the militant Zionist leaders, and certain prominent English and American Jews, who believed that the most fruitful future for the Jewish people lay in assimilation, though without loss of their particular religious and cultural heritages, into the national life of other countries. It would be rash to assume that the problem underlying this difference of opinion has been solved by the creation of Israel. Indeed, it must be feared that in certain cases it could prove to have been exacerbated. It is, for example, hard to accept the contention implicit in Mr. Sharett's definition of Jewry, that the Jewish minorities in, for example, Egypt and Syria, can in present circumstances reasonably expect to be regarded as loyal citizens of those States. Equally, the Jewish communities in Turkey or Russia would be faced with a hard choice of loyalties should the former country decide to reverse its present foreign policy and set itself at the head of the Moslem world, or should Israel become involved in a world conflict in opposition to the Soviet Union.

11. This unresolved problem is still too closely surrounded with emotion for Israelis to accept that it should be publicly discussed by an outsider. The fact that Mr. Byroade chose to deliver his second speech to the American Council of Judaism, the American organisation of professed Jewish opponents to Zionism, has aroused far more suspicion and hostility, even than the substance of what he had to say. This fact, together with other manifestations of United States policy, notably the undertaking to supply arms to Iraq, has set up a profound sense of disquiet and isolation in Israel. In the past the Israelis have always felt that in the last resort they could rely on the United States. Bereft of this sense of security, I fear that, like a child who has lost confidence in his parents, they will be inclined to react, not more prudently, but more neurotically.

12. If the purpose of Mr. Byroade's initiative, which has since been endorsed by Mr. Dulles, was to persuade Israel and the Arab States to adopt more conciliatory policies towards each other, it is likely to prove a failure, at least so far as Israel is concerned. I imagine that its beneficial effect in the Arab world will be no greater.

13. One must assume that this factor was taken into account by the State Department, and that the Council of Judaism was chosen as Mr. Byroade's second audience in the knowledge of the effect this was likely to have in Israel. If this is correct, it would follow that the speeches were primarily addressed to the American audience, both Christian and Jewish. Presumably the object was to educate the former about the United States complex responsibilities in the Middle East, and to deliver a warning to the latter that unreasonable attempts by pressure groups to influence United States policies in favour of Israel, might call in question the loyalty of American Jews. It would be interesting to have the comments of Her Majesty's Ambassador in Washington on this interpretation of Mr. Byroade's intentions, and on the effect his remarks are likely to have on United States Jewry in its attitude to Israel.

14. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives in Washington, Paris, Cairo, Baghdad, Amman, Damascus, Jedda, Beirut, to the Head of the British Middle East Office, and to Her Majesty's Consul-General in Jerusalem.

I have, &c.

A. R. MOORE.

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VR 1111/5

No. 12

APPROVAL BY THE ISRAEL CABINET OF THE BANK OF ISRAEL BILL

Sir Francis Evans to Mr. Eden. (Received May 27)

(No. 98 E. Unclassified)

Tel Aviv,

Sir,

May 25, 1954.

I have the honour to inform you that after several months of preparation the Bank of Israel Bill received the approval of the Israel Cabinet on the 23rd of May. This Bill provides for the establishment of a State bank, with a capital of £1.10 millions, which, in addition to being the repository of Government accounts, will play an important role in executing the monetary policy of the Government. The Minister of Finance is authorised to transfer all his powers under the present Banking Law to the State Bank.

2. Mr. Horowitz, governor-designate of the bank, has taken the opportunity to reiterate earlier statements on the bank's prospective functions. It will:—

- (a) fix the liquidity ratio for all banks and determine the composition of their liquid assets;
- (b) set the re-discount rate;
- (c) serve as the bank of issue of currency;
- (d) have authority to provide interim finances for the budget for a period not exceeding twelve months and up to a limit of 20 per cent. of the ordinary budget (excluding that for communications).

Its control over other commercial banks will thus give the bank power to supervise the volume of credit, and to direct it at will. The Bill also includes enabling clauses by which the Treasury's supervision of foreign currency may be transferred to the bank.

3. The Bill stipulates that the governor be appointed by the President, on the advice of the Government; and that the Cabinet retain the prerogative of nominating two Deputies to assist him. Further provision is made for the appointment of an Advisory Committee (up to seven members) and an Advisory Council (up to fifteen members). The committee will advise on general policy, while the council represent the various sectors of Israel's economy and will be given the opportunity at bi-monthly sessions of hearing reports and presenting criticism and requests.

4. Copies of the Bank of Israel Bill will be sent to you as soon as they are available.

5. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Treasury, Her Majesty's Treasury Representative, Cairo, and the Development Division of the British Middle East Office, Beirut.

I have, &c.

F. E. EVANS.

P 1013/16 G

No. 13

ISRAEL AND JORDAN: JERUSALEM INCIDENTS

(No. 148 Intel. Confidential)

Foreign Office,

July 10, 1954.

Shooting broke out on the evening of June 30 and, despite representations by the United Kingdom, United States and French representatives to the Israel and Jordan Governments and the efforts of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organisation to enforce a cease-fire, continued intermittently until mid-day on July 2. Fortunately, in spite of Israeli 3-in. mortar fire directed at Jordan Jerusalem, in which the majority of the Holy Places are situated, the latter escaped serious damage.

2. On July 1, General Bennike, Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organisation, convened an emergency meeting of the Israel-Jordan Mixed Armistice Commission, which Israel attended. It was as a result of this and subsequent meetings that the cease-fire eventually became effective. United Nations observers have completed their investigations into the incident and General

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Bennike has called a special meeting of the Mixed Armistice Commission for July 11.

3. In view of the conflicting claims as to which party started the shooting, the United Nations Secretary-General, at our suggestion, has recommended to General Bennike that no resolution condemning either side should be made unless firmly and conclusively supported by the fullest evidence. He has also instructed General Bennike to make the fullest possible public statement about the conclusions which he considered warranted by the findings of the United Nations observers.

4. Despite the tension which this incident has caused on both sides, there have been no subsequent reports of any serious trouble.

5. Paragraph 3 above is for your information only and should be treated as confidential.

VR 1072/142

No. 14

COMMENTS BY HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT ON THE FUTURE OF ISRAEL-JORDAN RELATIONS

Mr. Eden to Mr. Richmond (Amman)

(No. 109. Confidential)

Foreign Office,

Sir,

July 13, 1954.

I have now received the translation of the Jordan Government's Note of June 28 which the Ambassador promised in his telegram No. 353 of June 30.

2. You should hand the Minister for Foreign Affairs a brief formal acknowledgment and speak to him on the following lines.

3. Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom are, of course, aware that opinion in the Arab States at present is against any suggestion that the Armistice Agreements with Israel should be replaced by a peace settlement. Moreover, as Mr. Furlong informed the previous Jordan Government last April (see my despatch No. 61 of April 17, it is not their desire to try to force Jordan against her will into peace negotiations with Israel. Nevertheless, since the Jordan Government have raised in their Note the present state of affairs on the frontier, you feel justified in pointing out that incidents of varying degrees of seriousness along Israel's frontiers are likely to remain a constant possibility so long as the Armistice régime continues and Jordan declines to have any relations with Israel or to honour her obligation under Article XII of the Armistice Agreement. Her Majesty's Government of course deplore calculated acts of violence, such as that at Azzun appears to have been. Nevertheless, so long as Israel feels menaced by Arab threats of annihilation and cannot look forward to some prospect of being able to establish normal political and commercial relations with her neighbours, it cannot be expected that she will adopt a co-operative attitude.

4. Her Majesty's Government cannot accept that in every case Israel is to blame for the frontier incidents. This is not borne out by the records of the Mixed Armistice Commission's meetings, although it is a fact that those for which responsibility was assigned to Israel have been of a much more serious nature. In any case, the expulsion of Israel from the United Nations could only increase Israel's feeling of isolation and make her more inclined to resort to desperate measures. It is because Her Majesty's Government attach importance to the ventilation of disputes in the United Nations with the participation of the States concerned, that they regret Jordan's decision to withdraw her representative from the current discussion of the Nahhalin incident and connected questions in the Security Council.

5. You should add that Her Majesty's Government consider that their long standing friendship and alliance with Jordan entitled them to speak bluntly.

6. I am sending copies of this despatch to Tel Aviv, Washington, Paris, British Middle East Office, Baghdad, Cairo, Damascus, Beirut, Jedda and the United Kingdom Delegation, New York.

I am, &c.

ANTHONY EDEN.

SECRET

VR 1072/159

No. 15

DISCUSSION BETWEEN HER MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR AND THE JORDANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ON JORDANIAN-ISRAELI RELATIONS

Mr. Duke to Mr. Eden. (Received August 3)

(No. 115. Confidential)

Amman,

Sir,

July 27, 1954.

I have the honour to report that I saw the Jordanian Minister for Foreign Affairs this morning and after handing him a brief and entirely formal acknowledgment of the Jordan Government's Note of June 28, I spoke to him as instructed in your despatch No. 109 (VR 1072/142) of July 13.

2. I told Sayyid Jamal Touqan that the Jordan Government's Note had raised serious questions which had been considered by Her Majesty's Government with the utmost care and I wished to explain to him their views plainly and with frankness. As I proceeded to do so he frequently interrupted me and argued with considerable vehemence, but our conversation was most friendly throughout.

3. The Foreign Minister welcomed the assurance that Her Majesty's Government recognised the impossibility for the Jordan Government to enter into peace negotiations with Israel. When I went on to point out the inevitable effect on the Israeli Government of the continuance of an armistice régime along the frontier and of the absence of any prospect of normal relations with their Arab neighbours, he broke in to ask if I was attempting to justify the Israelis in making organised raids on Jordan as they had done at Qibya, Nahhalin and Azzun. I said that I was not, and that such incidents were deplored by Her Majesty's Government, who had publicly expressed their views on them both at the United Nations and elsewhere; but that the Jordan Government must recognise that the threatening utterances made by Arab spokesmen against Israel and the refusal of the Arab States to enter into any normal relations with Israel was bound to produce a frame of mind in the Israelis which was likely to lead to such incidents and to increase the risk of their repetition.

4. I added that the records of the Mixed Armistice Commission did not support the contention in the Jordan Government's Note that the Israelis had been responsible for all the frontier incidents, although it had been established that they were to blame for the most serious ones. Jamal Touqan replied that account should be taken of the great difference in the scale and type of incidents for which each side had been held responsible. Those of which Jordanians had been found guilty were of the nature of minor offences; no Government could give an absolute guarantee, even within its own territories, against the commission of crimes or protect its own citizens completely against burglary or even murder. The offences which Jordanians had committed against Israel were of this nature and the Jordan Government did its utmost to prevent them and took vigorous action to pursue and punish the individuals who were guilty of them. A recent example was the arrest by the Arab Legion of three Jordanians from Azzun village who were believed to have been guilty of the murder of an Israeli in the Israeli village of Ra'anana on the night before the Israeli attack on the Arab Legion Camp at Azzun. The Minister said he could recall no single report of a case in which the Israeli Government had punished their subjects for raiding into Jordan. Indeed, such raids were usually carried out by officially organised or sponsored groups belonging to the Israeli military or para-military forces.

5. As for aggressive statements by Arab spokesmen, the Foreign Minister said these were not made by responsible Jordanian Ministers and the Jordan Government should not be held responsible for the utterances which might be made by speakers in other countries even though they might be Arabs. He took the opportunity to assure me once again, and asked me to repeat the assurance most solemnly to Her Majesty's Government, that the last thing that the Jordan Government wished was to provoke the Israelis in any way or increase tension on the frontier by encouraging incidents from the Jordan side or to give the Israelis any excuse for attacks. The Jordan Government was faced with a most difficult internal situation, to which they wished to devote their full attention and energy. It was dangerous for them to be distracted from dealing with their serious and pressing internal problems by troubles on the Israeli frontier.

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6. I then said that the Israelis were not the only ones who had failed to fulfil completely their international obligations under the Armistice Agreement or otherwise. I referred to the refusal of the Jordan Government to take part in any meeting with the Israelis under Article XII of the Armistice Agreement and said that this was not only a breach of an international undertaking but seemed to me a tactical error as well. Jamal Touqan replied that although it had been the previous Government which had refused the Secretary-General's invitation to a meeting under Article XII, it was in fact impossible for the present or any other Jordanian Government to join in such a meeting, even though refusal might involve censure from the United Nations. Public opinion in Jordan, no less than that in other Arab countries, would not at present permit any Jordan Government to treat with the Israelis, even to a limited extent. If the present Government were to agree to such a meeting, he said, they would not merely be out of office in 24 hours, but would be publicly execrated and might even be the victims of personal violence. Any other Government would suffer a similar fate, and any new Government which came in would be able to maintain itself only by displaying, however insincerely, a more violently intransigent attitude in this respect than its predecessors.

7. Jamal Touqan went on to say that the repeated Israeli raids and incidents along the frontier were largely responsible for the continuance of this state of affairs. Such incidents only inflamed and embittered Jordanian opinion against Israel and made it more difficult for any Jordanian Government to treat with her. If there could be a reasonably prolonged period of tranquillity along the frontier this would give the Jordan Government an opportunity of gradually re-educating public opinion and so of regaining more freedom of manoeuvre. The Foreign Minister added that the Jordan Government felt that in handling their public opinion with some care they were in a way serving British interests as well as their own. Any unpopular action which they took provoked criticism of the British almost as hostile as of the Jordan Government itself. They intended, provided a more responsible Parliament resulted from the forthcoming elections, to take powers which would give them more control, but if they were too hasty or careless with public opinion they would only open the door for the more subversive elements, which would lead to further expansion of Communist propaganda and influence.

8. I then said that Her Majesty's Government could not accept the suggestion in the Jordan Note that steps should be taken to expel Israel from the United Nations; not only would this increase the feeling of isolation and desperation in Israel, but Her Majesty's Government attached prime importance to the principle of the ventilation of disputes in the United Nations. I expressed the regret of Her Majesty's Government that the Jordan Government should have withdrawn their representative from the discussion in the Security Council of the Nahhalin incident and connected questions relating to the frontier. The Foreign Minister repeated the explanation which he had given before, and which I reported in my telegram No. 290 of May 31, that the Jordan Representative had never been authorised to take part in that particular discussion. He had been instructed by the previous Government only to assist the Lebanese Representative in the discussion before the Security Council and that the present Government of Jordan had done no more than correct the error which their representative had committed in taking part in the debate on the Nahhalin incident. The confusion had unfortunately been increased by the fact that there was a change of Government in Jordan at the time of the discussion before the Security Council and there had been some delay before the present Jordan Government had been able to acquaint themselves with the facts of the situation. In any case, the Foreign Minister asked, why could the precedent of the complaint about the Qibya incident not have been followed on this occasion also? I said that I thought that another tactical error had been committed by the Jordanians in refusing to accept the very mild and accommodating formula which had been proposed to enable them to take part in this debate, and when Jamal Touqan said that public opinion made it impossible for Jordan to give the undertaking required, I replied that I thought the Jordan Government ought not to overlook the effect on international public opinion, even amongst Jordan's friends, of their refusal to do so. It gave an unfortunate impression that it was impossible to help the Arab States since they resolutely refused to help themselves, or to co-operate even with their friends. This provoked the Foreign Minister into a long exposition of the state of feeling in the Arab countries that the United Nations (by which he said everybody meant the United Kingdom and

the United States which they firmly believed could utilise the Organisation virtually as they wished) for the creation of the whole problem, their failure to control Israel within the boundaries which she had seized, the moral responsibility for the refugees, of the British in particular as the former Mandatory Power and the bitterness and danger which the continuance of the problem of the refugees constituted, with particular reference to Communism. I need not further prolong this despatch with an account of the long and discursive argument which we had on this excessively well-worn theme. I concluded by saying that I understood the difficulties of the internal situation in Jordan and realised that the present Government had many problems before them in dealing with which I wished them success, and thanked him for the opportunity of a frank and full discussion.

9. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Tel Aviv, Baghdad, Beirut, Cairo, Damascus, Jedda, Washington and Paris, to the Head of the British Middle East Office in Fayid, and to the United Kingdom Delegation to the United Nations in New York.

I have, &c.

C. B. DUKE.

VR 1072/164

No. 16

ISRAELI REACTIONS TO THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUEZ CANAL AGREEMENT

Sir Francis Evans to Mr. Eden. (Received August 5)

(No. 137. Confidential)
Sir,

Tel Aviv,
August 3, 1954.

I have the honour to report on reactions in Israel to the final negotiation and initialling by Her Majesty's Government and the Egyptian Government of the Suez Canal Agreement. Following as this event does upon the decision of the United States Government to provide military aid to Iraq, and with the prospect of additional military assistance to other Arab countries, the feeling in Israel is strong that the withdrawal of the British forces from the Canal Zone particularly if accompanied by the transfer to Egyptian control of large quantities of military stores, will weigh the balance of power still further in favour of the Arab States, and, in view of the latter's continued hostility to Israel, thus constitute a threat to peace in the area.

2. The attitude of the Israel Government to the Agreement was summarised by the Prime Minister in a speech in Tel Aviv on Air Force Day, July 28. While recognising the right of every nation to realise its rightful aspirations to full sovereignty, Mr. Sharett said that Egypt would be judged by the use she made of the great international asset now passing into her control, and of her new position of strength. Mr. Sharett added, however, that, without any obligation on the part of Egypt not to exploit her fresh status to the detriment of Israel, the withdrawal of the British could constitute a spur to aggression. The Israel Government, he went on, would continue to dispute the arbitrary blockade by Egypt of the Suez Canal, and would view with concern any grant of arms to Egypt, who, he considered, would turn them against Israel. The Prime Minister concluded with a declaration of Israel's peaceful intentions, her determination to strengthen her defences, and an appeal for the support of the Jewish people throughout the world. Earlier, in a broadcast, on July 25, the Director-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Walter Eytan, expressed Israel's concern at the intentions of the Arab States, and said that he regarded the Tripartite Declaration of 1950 as having lost much of its validity since the decision of the United States to supply arms and military equipment to Iraq. He attached little value to paper guarantees, and was of the opinion that if the Egyptian Government were provided with arms, an equivalent amount must be supplied to Israel to maintain the balance of strength in the area.

3. This fear of Arab aggression, arising from a shift in the balance of power in the Middle East, has been echoed in the Press. Comment, which is generally critical of Her Majesty's Government's failure to secure, as part of their agreement with the Egyptian Government, a firm undertaking from the latter that they will

lift the blockade of the Suez Canal and refrain from aggressive action against Israel, has included demands for a guarantee for the security of Israel (thus discounting your reaffirmation of the Tripartite Declaration in the House of Commons on July 29), concern at the alleged new threat to world peace, dismay at the increased burden of defence expenditure which these latest developments will inevitably impose upon Israel, and speculation over the possible establishment of Western bases either at Haifa or in the Negev. It has also been suggested that the period between the initialling and ratification of the Agreement should be used by Israel for a further diplomatic approach to the Western Powers, designed to remove Israel's misgivings.

4. As the feeling grows that the tide of American opinion and policy is setting steadily against Israel, there has been increasing demand for rapprochement with the United Kingdom, and the never completely suppressed hope for admission to the British Commonwealth has received fresh expression.

5. It is clear that reaction to the Agreement is coloured by widespread anxiety as to the security of a comparatively weak Israel, surrounded by avowedly hostile and potentially powerful neighbours. In addition to verbal assurances, Israel would clearly like to receive some convincing guarantee that the Tripartite Declaration will be upheld, if necessary by immediate military intervention on the part of the three Powers, and that a serious effort will be made to secure freedom of navigation for shipping of all nations regardless of cargo, through the Suez Canal. In the absence of such assurances, it seems likely that still further efforts will be made by the Israel Government to modernise and perfect Israel's military machine, and thereby ensure that the State is in a position to meet the open attack which the Government now genuinely feel may soon develop.

6. I am sending a copy of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Washington, Paris, Amman, Beirut, Baghdad, Damascus and Cairo, to the Head of the British Middle East Office, Fayid and to Her Majesty's Acting Consul-General at Jerusalem.

I have, &c.

F. E. EVANS.

VR 11111/13

No. 17

PRESENTATION TO THE KNESSET OF THE DEVELOPMENT BUDGET FOR 1954-55

Sir Francis Evans to Sir Winston Churchill. (Received September 2)

(No. 151 E. Restricted)

Tel Aviv,

August 31, 1954

Sir,
The long awaited Development Budget for 1954-55 totalling £1.196 millions is due to receive the Knesset approval within the next ten days, prior to the summer recess. This brings to a conclusion the Israel Government's budgetary exercises for the current financial year.

2. The original estimate approved by the Knesset at the time of the acceptance of the Ordinary Budget was £1.168 millions (see my despatch No. 71 E of the 6th of April). In order to make additional sums available for work declared by the Minister of Finance to be essential, the Cabinet subsequently authorised the increase of £1.28 millions. The difference will be financed by the abolition of some of the food subsidies and by the floating of a compulsory development loan, probably in the form of advance Income Tax Certificates.

3. I attach a table which shows the proposed distribution of the development funds. It will be noted that agriculture as last year has received the lion's share, some £1.60 millions or almost 30 per cent. of the total. Half of this sum will be earmarked for irrigation; the remainder is to be devoted to new settlements and agricultural loans. Considerably higher sums will be spent this year on transport and communications, housing, electricity, and industrial projects.

4. It is satisfactory to note the emphasis on productive uses for the 1954-55 development funds. The figures present a more businesslike appearance than the budgets of previous years. It is to be hoped that this marks a stage at which the

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mistrust surrounding this vital section of the State's economic planning will begin to disappear.

5. I am sending copies of this despatch to the Commercial Relations and Exports Department and Export Credits Guarantee Department of the Board of Trade.

I have, &c.

F. E. EVANS.

Enclosure

DISTRIBUTION OF DEVELOPMENT FUNDS

	1954/55	1953/54
	£1. millions	
Agriculture	59.4	46.9
Transport and Communications	25.5	12.4
Housing	20.2	13.4
Unemployment and Relief Projects	14.0	10.0
Industry	12.4	8.3
Electricity	10.4	6.4
Fortification Projects	10.0	10.0
Mines and Quarries	9.5	8.5
Buildings for Schools, Medical and Government Institutions	8.3	8.4
Loans to Local Authorities	7.7	5.9
Public Works	7.0	7.5
Posts	5.3	2.5
Arava Development	2.0	2.2
Jordan River Canal	1.5	—
Funds and Various Projects	1.0	1.3
Public Companies	0.8	0.7
Reserve	1.0	0.6
	196.0	145.0

British Embassy,

Tel Aviv.

August 31, 1954.

VR 1022/3

No. 18

COMMENTS ON A SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF ISRAEL WHEN OPENING A FOREIGN AFFAIRS DEBATE IN THE KNESSET ON AUGUST 30, 1954

Sir Francis Evans to Mr. Eden. (Received September 2)

(No. 154. Unclassified)

Tel Aviv,

August 31, 1954.

Sir,
I have the honour to enclose a copy⁽¹⁾ of the Prime Minister's spirited, but not immoderate, statement made when opening a Foreign Affairs debate in the Knesset on the 30th of August.

2. In surveying Israel's relations with both "its enemies near at hand, and its friends afar," Mr. Sharett spoke yet again of the threat to the future existence of an isolated Israel, surrounded by hostile neighbours, and proceeded, from there, to

review in considerable detail the policies of the United Kingdom and the United States in relation to Israel and the Arab States.

3. Mr. Sharett welcomed the fulfilment of Egypt's sovereignty by the agreement to withdraw Britain's forces from the Suez Canal Zone, but regarded the increase in her strength and status, so long as she remained belligerent towards Israel, as a danger to the peace and stability of the region. How could Egypt, he asked, be established as guardian of the Canal, when she violated the international convention

⁽¹⁾ Not printed.

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and ignored the Security Council's Resolution on freedom of passage? The Israel Government knew of no guarantees that had been demanded of Egypt in this connexion, and feared that the conclusion of the agreement might be regarded, by Egypt, as a sign of approval or at least acceptance by the United Kingdom and the United States of the Egyptian stand. The transfer of control of the Canal Zone and its facilities to a defiant and hostile Egypt had caused a far-reaching shift in the balance of strength: the United Kingdom should have made evacuation contingent upon Egypt's acceptance of peace with Israel or, failing that, should have offered special assistance to Israel at the same time. But no concern for Israel's security was evidenced in the document, and by approving the settlement the United States shared responsibility for it. The "novel" definition of the countries, attacks upon which could lead to the reactivation of the base, implied recognition of the Arab League Security Pact, which had been created for the sole purpose of war against Israel, and the omission of Israel from the definition "placed a distinctive stamp" on the agreement. Mr. Sharett felt that this attitude on the part of the Great Powers of the free world signified the abandonment of Israel to her fate. The Western Powers, and the United States in particular, favoured democratic regional defence, but the strange situation had arisen whereby democratic Israel was being discriminated against and ostracised in favour of her less than democratic neighbours.

4. Reviewing relations with the United States, the Prime Minister said that the one-sided arming of the Arab States would widen the military gap between Egypt and Israel. It seemed to encourage the maintenance of a state of war rather than peace. Although possessing qualitative advantages, Israel was, on the whole, already much weaker than the Arab States, and was disturbed at the further aggravation of the position by the present policy of the United States. Further, the grant of arms to Egypt had been conditional upon agreement with Britain, but carried no condition in respect of Israel. The country was very grateful to the American people for economic aid, and acknowledged the Arab countries' need for such help, but it should be conditional upon a demonstration of good neighbourliness.

5. Mr. Sharett went on to declare that Israel would continue to denounce the granting of arms to the Arab States as prejudicial to peace in that they would be used against Israel, to expose the delusion and absurdity of giving arms to the Arab States as a means of defending democracy, and to repudiate the notion that arms could cure the Arab States of chronic instability: arms did not make for democracy but for totalitarian dictatorship.

6. Whilst appreciating the sincerity of expressions of sympathy from Britain and the United States, Israel required more positive assurances, in fact deeds instead of declarations. The principle, expressed in the Tripartite Declaration of 1950, that a balance would be maintained between arms supplied to Israel on one hand and the Arab States on the other, was even now being disregarded. Arms were to be supplied without the recipients being called upon to undertake to abstain from the aggression that they appeared to contemplate. Nevertheless, Israel was far from falling into panic and would meet its trials and continue to utter warnings against policies threatening peace. The State of Israel was not a pawn, and its security could not be jeopardised in the defence of democracy; it had a strong and even a special claim to life and freedom.

7. Mr. Sharett's statement concluded with a resumé of the State's achievements during its brief existence, and called upon "men of wisdom and vision" for understanding and support. He hoped that those responsible for the present policy against Israel would realise that the right to security of life and freedom was necessary for stability and peace. Finally, the Prime Minister appealed to his countrymen for unity, strength and loyalty in the State's endeavours.

8. The debate which followed Mr. Sharett's statement has continued to-day. A report on the more important speeches will be forwarded by next week's bag.

9. I am copying this despatch, with a full and substantially accurate press report of Mr. Sharett's statement, to Her Majesty's Representatives at Washington, Paris, Amman, Beirut, Bagdad, Cairo, Damascus and to the Head of the British Middle East Office, Fayid.

I have, &c.

F. E. EVANS.

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VR 1022/4

No. 19

REPORT ON THE CONCLUSION ON SEPTEMBER 1, 1954, OF THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS DEBATE IN THE KNESSET

Sir Francis Evans to Mr. Eden. (Received September 9)

(No. 157. Restricted) Tel Aviv,
Sir, September 7, 1954.

With my despatch No. 154 of the 31st of August, I forwarded the text of the statement made by the Prime Minister at the opening of the Foreign Affairs debate in the Knesset on the 30th of August. I now have the honour to report that the subsequent debate was concluded on the 1st of September by the adoption, by fifty-four votes to nine, with seven abstentions, of a resolution approving Government policy.

2. This resolution, a copy of which is enclosed, adds nothing very new. It reaffirms the concern of Israel at the arming of the Arab States by the Western Powers and at the evacuation of the Suez Canal Zone, approves measures being taken by the Government to prevent a further shift in the balance of power unfavourable to Israel, calls for the progressive strengthening of Israel's defences, appeals for the continued support of World Jewry, and instructs the Foreign Affairs and Security Committee of the Knesset to submit recommendations. Resolutions submitted by Mapam, demanding the adoption by Israel of a "neutral" position in the international arena, by Leachdut Ha'avodah calling for immediate steps to free Israel's economic and political policy from "dependence on foreign countries," and by Herut, which stressed the need for the immediate reunification of Eretz Israel ("The Land of Israel"), were all rejected by substantial majorities.

3. The debate itself was not a particularly notable one. There were few original thoughts, and most of the speakers were content to endorse the remarks made by the Prime Minister in his opening statement, and to remind the Government of the need for continued vigilance and intensified diplomatic action in the Western world to prevent any further deterioration in the situation in the Middle East as it affected the security of Israel.

4. As was to be expected, spokesmen of the extreme Nationalist party, Herut, whose influence in the Knesset, and in the country at large, remains slight, called for a more active policy on the part of the

Government. The leader of the Party, Mr. Begin, reiterated his plea for a preventive war before the Arab States became sufficiently strong militarily to contain, and possibly defeat, Israel. Similar, though less extreme, views were advanced by the Leachdut Ha'avodah leader, Mr. Ben Aharon, who considered that "in the face of the Anglo-American alignment with the Arab feudal front to exterminate Israel," the only alternative for the State was to repudiate the Armistice Agreements and prevent the formation of Arab bases for aggression against Israel. The Prime Minister, in his closing speech, dealt firmly with these suggestions, and described as "fantastic" the suggestion that bases of Arab aggression should be destroyed piecemeal. He asked members of the Knesset to pause and consider whether Israel was interested in the maintenance of the Armistice Agreements in order to continue with her development and build up her strength, or whether the Government should allow the present situation to develop "into bloody strife and international complications, the end of which no one could predict." It seemed preferable, he continued, that Israel should content herself with warning her neighbours against adventures which might prove more dangerous to them than to Israel. He did not feel it necessary to go into meticulous detail as to the way in which Israel would react because, he added, the Arab States remember well what happened quite recently.

5. In his final statement, the Prime Minister also scorned suggestions that Israel should reorientate her policy towards the West and place greater reliance in the future upon the countries of the Soviet bloc. This suggestion had been voiced from several parts of the Knesset during the course of the debate. The Left Socialist leader, Doctor Sneh, not unnaturally, invited the Government to "quit the broken wagon" of American dependency and, in the spirit of the Leachdut Ha'avodah resolution, Mr. Ben Aharon suggested that Israel should renounce United States grant-in-aid. Slightly more surprising was the plea by the Mapai leader, Mr. Argov, that Israel should

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exercise her freedom to choose those friends who would help her, without entering into any offensive alliance, or, alternatively, remain neutral. Replying to this criticism, Mr. Sharett pointed out that the Israel Government were interested in friendship with every nation, particularly the great nations who exercised a commanding influence in world affairs. This certainly applied to Russia. They would, however, like to see some reciprocity, as they understood the word. It was hard to see, Mr. Sharett continued, how there could be true friendship with the Soviet Union, when such an unbridgeable chasm separated Israel from Jewry there. Russia had an immeasurable asset at hand in this connexion, by which she could enhance and strengthen friendship with Israel beyond bounds. She had not, however, chosen to use it.

6. In closing his statement, the Prime Minister declared that peace and security could not be established in the Middle East without Israel, or at her expense. Any structure established in the Middle East on the assumption that Israel did not exist would inevitably serve as a basis for aggression against the State and consequently could not survive. "Our policy," the Prime Minister stated, "was persistence in opposition to the present policy of the Powers by wise and effective planning; a renewed and increased effort to enlighten public opinion in the free world; the strengthening of every existing friendship and the search for new ones; incessant efforts to strengthen our position and buttress our security by the people dwelling in Israel with the help of Jewry throughout the world."

7. There are but few fresh conclusions that can be drawn from this debate. The Israel Government clearly intend to pursue a major campaign, through diplomatic and other available channels, against the strengthening of the Arab world, and at the same time to redouble their own efforts to keep pace with the military reinforcement of the Arab States. Such a policy undoubtedly commands the support of the great majority of the population, who are at a loss to understand why the United States and the United Kingdom, who are still regarded as the best friends Israel has, are apparently so unmindful of her interests. But perhaps the most significant

feature has been the high degree of support which Mr. Sharett himself has received, which suggests that the majority of the Knesset and the bulk of the population recognise the futility and danger of an activist policy, and the impracticability and undesirability of closer alliance with the East.

8. I am sending copies of this despatch and enclosure to Her Majesty's Representatives at Washington, Paris, Amman, Bagdad, Beirut, Cairo, Damascus and to the Head of the British Middle East Office.

I have &c.

F. E. EVANS.

Enclosure

Resolution adopted by the Knesset on September 1, 1954, at the conclusion of the Foreign Affairs Debate

"The Knesset expresses its deep concern about the policy of arming the Arab States pursued by the United States and Great Britain, while these States continue to threaten the existence and peace of Israel, and in light of the disregard of Israel's security problems and the requirements of stability and peace in the Middle East in the agreement on the evacuation of the Suez Canal Zone.

"The Knesset proclaims that the State of Israel will not reconcile itself to this tendency.

"The Knesset, after having heard the statement of the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, supports the Government in its efforts to prevent the supply of arms to the Arab States and the upsetting of the balance of military strength, which is leading to the undermining of the security situation in the area.

"The Knesset proclaims the urgent need for special measures to increase Israel's defensive power.

"The Knesset expresses its confidence that the masses of the Jewish people throughout the world will support the State of Israel in the struggle which has been forced upon it and in its efforts to strengthen its security.

"The Knesset instructs the Foreign Affairs and Security Committee to conclude the discussion of the problem and submit its recommendations to the Government."

VR 1051/12

No. 20

OBSERVATIONS ON THE COURSE OF ANGLO-ISRAEL RELATIONS DURING THE PAST THREE YEARS

Sir Francis Evans to Mr. Eden. (Received October 4)

(No. 169. Confidential) Tel Aviv,
Sir, September 30, 1954.

On the completion of my tour of duty in Israel, I have the honour to submit, for what they are worth, some observations on the course of Anglo-Israel relations during the three years since I took up my appointment here. I believe it true to say that on balance they now are static; there is noticeable neither any trend towards closer friendship nor any marked tendency towards estrangement. Certain influences and events, particularly the deterioration of Israel's relations with the Arab States, have had an adverse effect; on the other hand, a sense of attachment to common ideals keeps Israel for the present well-disposed towards the United Kingdom.

2. During his incumbency my predecessor had the constructive task of establishing on a level of normal international intercourse the deeply-estranged relations which had been the legacy of the conflict between the Mandatory Authority and the Jewish residents of Palestine. The degree of success that marked Sir Knox Helm's effective efforts was such that by the time I succeeded him the British had regained the respect and esteem of a substantial and influential part of the people of Israel. So far from there being hostility, warm cordiality prevailed. A desire to follow the British example in responsible Parliamentary Government, in the pursuit of a broad social-democratic philosophy, in the creation of a detached and honourable judiciary and an honest and incorruptible Administration: in short, a desire to adopt the principles and to follow in many of the traditions that mark the British political way of life had been developed, and there was no lack of readiness to give respectful identification to the pattern being emulated.

3. Sir Knox Helm left at a time when the Israel Government's expectations of a ripening relationship with the United Kingdom had been raised by a visit by General Sir Brian Robertson and by a message later sent by your predecessor to the then Prime Minister of Israel, Mr. Ben Gurion. Subsequent developments made it impossible for Her Majesty's Government to proceed along the lines expected, no doubt with undue optimism, by the

Government of Israel, and their keen disappointment, although for obvious reasons not publicly expressed, caused some recession in the flowing tide of cordiality. It has undoubtedly been a factor, though no more than one of several, in the increasing sense of insecurity which has given to Israel's external policy so assertive and aggressive a character and which has led to increasing friction with her neighbours and with the local representatives of the United Nations charged with the supervision of the Armistice arrangements of 1949.

4. It is, of course, in the sphere of her relations with her Arab neighbours that Israel comes closest to friction with ourselves. Even as in the days of the Mandate the Jews of Palestine charged us with yielding to an Arab veto on the immigration of their people from abroad, so now the Israelis charge us with yielding to Arab intransigence, particularly in the case of Jordan, in the matter of the Arab's refusal to make peace. They condemn now as then what they call our appeasement of the Arabs. They think we refrain, for reasons of our own, from exerting on Jordan the effective pressure to make peace that, in their view, we are in a position to exercise. Their attitude is, of course, unreasonable and conveniently assumes a relationship between ourselves and Jordan which in fact does not exist. It ignores, or at least disregards, the strategic and economic reasons for the policies towards the Arab States pursued first by ourselves and now by the Americans, who in consequence increasingly share with us the resultant odium. There is no doubt, however, that the Israelis see in our alliance with Jordan a bulwark behind which the Government of that country, safe in the assurance of British protection, can follow a policy of hostility in defiance of the spirit and indeed the letter of the Armistice Agreement.

5. Nevertheless, our occasional admonitions, our sometimes emphatic remonstrances over acts of reprisal, and our frequent exhortations to moderation and restraint, though undoubtedly resented, have been accepted without recrimination

and their sincerity has never been challenged. I believe they have even been helpful at times of extreme crisis to the present Prime Minister, both in his days as Foreign Minister and since he has combined that office with the Premiership. They have supported him in his resistance to the pressure of his more inflammable colleagues, some of whom would welcome a policy of vigorous retaliation. There are indeed influences at work in Israel which would plunge the State into a preventive war, in the belief that time may well strengthen the power of the Arab States to undertake once again active and concerted hostilities against her. It is well, therefore, that the Prime Minister should be given such support as we can afford him, even support of so negative and unpalatable a kind. Any alternative to him as Prime Minister is likely to take a far less moderate line; Mr. Sharett's policy is still on trial, and the embers of nationalism, of chauvinism, of fear, of frustration, and of irritation which smoulder beneath the surface of Israel feelings towards the Arab States can be quickly fanned into the fiercest flames. The fury of resentment towards Jordan in the recent Jerusalem clash, a sincere and genuine manifestation however mistaken in both premise and conclusion, indicates how deep has become the impatience of the people of Israel as the years go on and peace comes no nearer. It would be a grave mistake to assume that Israel feelings on the question of their dispute with the Arabs are so well in hand that an outbreak is completely impossible. That the Government of Israel has kept popular sentiment reasonably subject to the processes of diplomacy, though perhaps a diplomacy more reminiscent at times of the East than of the West, is not to be taken as indicating that Israeli methods are merely those of manoeuvre or intrigue, directed at the attainment of purely selfish ends. Behind them is a strong conviction that right is on their side, and that they are the victims of Arab violence and bad faith, as well as the prisoners of Western policy. Again, as in their sentiment towards ourselves in the matter of Arab relationships to which I have referred above, there is myopia and distortion of outlook, but there is at the same time deep and real conviction. There is some reason to believe that even Mr. Sharett is at last being forced to yield, to some degree, to the pressure of such a conviction, a sentiment which press and politicians in Israel have done all too little to correct or moderate.

6. A distinguished English Zionist is reported to have referred, with regard to the torrent of self-justification which poured from Israel sources at the time of the Qibya attack, to the "infuriating insistence of the Jews on being in the right." It is to this unworthy characteristic, one by no means peculiar to Jews, that press and politicians in Israel pander, probably unconsciously. It is perhaps the most difficult attribute of the Israelis to cope with for those whose task it is to negotiate with them. Whatever its origins, whether it derives from religious roots, is the products of generations of oppression, or, in Israel, is the immature manifestation of an adolescent nation, it all too often blinds the Israeli to the character and strength of foreign opinion, and deflects and repels foreign sympathy. Raised to the national scale and invested with the sovereign sense, the insistence on being in the right makes international negotiation all but futile and compromise hardly to be expected. Its existence in a people who claim, and have genuinely sought, to model their national life in a democratic mould is disappointing, and costs them much of the patience and understanding of those who would be their friends. It is harder, almost, to forgive than the fierce intransigence of the Arabs, of whom a less enlightened standard of international behaviour is expected. It feeds upon itself and on its own propaganda, and tends to the generation of arrogance, truculence, and a false sense of self-confidence which could ultimately be disastrous to the State.

7. The repulse of foreign sympathy is the more unfortunate for Israel since in so many aspects of her quarrel with the Arab States she has a fair measure of right on her side. Whatever the train of events—ever debatable—that led up to the conflict of 1948, it is a fact that the armies of five Arab States made a concerted attack on the new-born State of Israel and were defeated. The Armistice Agreements with which the fighting was brought to an end were intended as a bridge to peace—the first article of each agreement lays this down—but the Arabs have steadfastly refused to discuss peace save on promises which in effect would result in the destruction or at least the emasculation of Israel, and which they must know are utterly unacceptable. The Arabs' economic war has cost Israel dearly, and continues to bear heavily if ultimately ineffectually, upon her. That it must also have cost the Arabs dearly and

has been of considerable inconvenience to British trade in this region, and that Arab resistance to peace with Israel gravely affects Western strategic plans for the Middle East, are facts which, while not directly relevant to the issue of Anglo-Israel relations, have bearing on the atmosphere in which those relations are conducted.

8. For these reasons, I must conclude my mission here with some feeling of regret that it has not been possible to build on the foundations so well laid by my predecessor, and to consolidate Israel's feelings of friendship and develop our own restraining influence over her by measures which would demonstrate in a form recognisable by the masses the friendly feelings which are entertained by Her Majesty's Government and, I dare say, a large proportion of the British people towards Israel. It has not been found within our power to do this by practical and material means; the economic burden which the United Kingdom is carrying is, I believe, generally recognised in Israel as preventing such a course from being followed. It is clear that we must continue in our policy of support, economic and military, for Jordan; this too, I believe, is recognised in Israel as inevitable, and by some in this country as ultimately beneficial to Israel in the restraint on Jordan that it implies. Economic and military assistance being, for the foreseeable future anyhow, out of the question, are there no political means of bringing reassurance to Israel? The statement, made recently by the Minister of State to the Arab leaders in London, has had some such effect, and at the moment of writing, is being scrutinised hopefully. The idea of British mediation seems not unattractive, but there is a keen desire for positive support. We have our treaty of alliance and mutual defence with Jordan; a parallel if not exactly comparable agreement with Israel, particularly if supported by similar agreements between the United States, Israel, and Jordan, would meet this desire. The reorganisation of an effective nucleus of British military power in the Middle East, so long weakened by the Egyptian dispute, is now imminent, and would reinforce the reassurance so conveyed.

9. Any action of the kind should not be expected to purchase Israeli gratitude. The Israelis feel that the world owes the Jews security after their awful ordeal of the war years—an ordeal which seems to be by no means at an end in more than one part of

the world—and that true security can be found only in a strong Jewish State. They will ask, accept, and take the utmost advantage of any help that may be given; they will always want more so long as the safety of their State remains actually or potentially vulnerable. Any act to reassure Israel economically, militarily, or politically would, however, help to restore a sense of security and reduce progressively the condition of national neurosis from which the country, and worse, much of its leadership, so acutely suffer. It would give the Israelis the feeling that they are not without friends and protectors, that their views are admitted to have some validity, and that their following a British or at least a Western pattern has practical advantage. Out of this could develop organically a closer relationship with ourselves, should we want it, and, more immediately, a reduction of the tension within Israel which remains always a threat to the peace of this region.

10. It is, I believe, a fair assumption that friendly relations between the United Kingdom and Israel are desirable. Israel's geographic and strategic position, her considerable community with us of outlook and democratic practice, the repercussions of events in Israel in the countries of the English-speaking world, and particularly the powerful influence in the United States of the Jewish element, are all arguments in favour of friendship and confidence between the two countries. I am concerned that without some process of courtship on our part—the Israelis have made advances and feel themselves rebuffed—confidence in us will fade and friendship will not last. Israel is cut off from contact with British thought and culture by her inability or unwillingness to divert any adequate amount of her slender resources of sterling to the purchase of British books and journals and by our present inability or unwillingness to supply them without sterling requital. Economic difficulties on both sides stand in the way of the commerce and travel in the course of which friendship is normally woven. Political considerations stand in the way of substantial military help. At the same time, those of her leaders who have known intimately and retained respect and admiration for the British and their ways even while they struggled against them during the later period of the Mandate, are ageing, and some have already died. A new generation which has, or has had little

contact with Britain, and which will have gained its impressions of the British system from American literature, will in time, indeed comparatively soon, assume the leadership. The sentiment towards the United Kingdom to which I referred early in this despatch is almost certain, in those circumstances, to grow ever weaker from lack of nourishment.

11. These, however, are long-term considerations. The immediate outlook is of urgency and importance. It is likely to be affected by the debate constantly proceeding within the Israel Cabinet between the group favouring restraint and that favouring strong methods. These groups are led by respectively, Mr. Sharett and Mr. Lavon, the first aged sixty and the second fifty. While the former retains health and there is no serious frontier outbreak so clearly attributable to Jordanian aggressiveness as to create a demand for his replacement by a less pacific leader, his continuance in effective control is likely, even should Mr. Ben Gurion return to active politics. If, however, he leaves the scene for whatever

reason, it is by no means unlikely that Mr. Lavon will succeed him as Prime Minister. A man of some fire, imbued with a passionate and mystical belief in Israel's destiny, lacking the considerable intellectual quality of Mr. Sharett and devoid of the latter's long experience in international negotiation, yet powerful in the Mapai and the Histadrut, and a persuasive speaker, he could play a dangerous part were he to feel himself carried forward to extreme measures on a tide of popular sentiment against the Arab States. It is for this reason that I think it dangerous to let our relations with Israel remain static; forward movement is necessary, movement calculated to reassure, to demonstrate friendship and understanding, and to relax Israel tension in so far as it is the product of a feeling of isolation.

12. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the Head of the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

F. E. EVANS.

VR 1072/236

No. 21

VIEWS OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT ON THE EFFECT ON ISRAEL'S SECURITY OF THE PROPOSED ANGLO-EGYPTIAN AGREEMENT REGARDING THE SUEZ CANAL BASE

Mr. Eden to His Excellency Mr. Eliahu Elath, Ambassador for Israel in London

Your Excellency,

When Your Excellency called upon me on September 22 you laid before me certain considerations concerning the effect on Israel's security of the proposed Anglo-Egyptian Agreement regarding the Suez Canal Base. I undertook to let you have the views of Her Majesty's Government on these matters and I now have the honour to state as follows:—

Her Majesty's Government recognise the Israeli Government's concern in this matter. They are convinced however that the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement which is now in the final stages of negotiation will result in a general lessening of tension in the Middle East. By increasing confidence between the Arab States and the West it should facilitate the solution of major problems in the area. In this connexion I

would draw Your Excellency's attention to the communiqué issued on the signature of the Heads of Agreement on July 27, in which both Governments declared that the proposed Agreement had no aggressive purpose and was designed to contribute to the maintenance of peace and security, which was the objective of both Governments.

The Agreement will contain a clause in which both parties agree to respect the Suez Canal Convention of 1888 in relation to freedom of navigation through the Suez Canal. As the Israeli Government are aware, Egypt claims to take measures against Israeli traffic under the terms of Article 10 of that Convention. Her Majesty's Government continue to desire a settlement of this question in accordance with the Resolutions of the Security Council of the United Nations.

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Your Excellency referred to the matter of installations which may be handed over to Egypt in connexion with the Agreement. I have to inform you that those items in the Base which will be handed over in accordance with paragraph 5 of the Annex to the Heads of Agreement will be listed in a published Annex to the Treaty. I repeat the assurance given to your Chargé d'Affaires by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd on July 12 that there is no question of handing over large quantities of armaments.

The policy of Her Majesty's Government in the Middle East is still governed by the Tripartite Declaration of May 1950, particularly as regards the opposition of the signatory Governments to the use or threat of force between Middle East States and the principles governing the supply of arms to those States. The Israeli Government may rest assured that Her Majesty's Government remain determined to give effect, with all the means in their power, to the policy expressed in the Tripartite Declaration.

As the Israeli Government know, Her Majesty's Government attach particular importance to the avoidance of incidents on the frontiers which might exacerbate Israel-Arab relations. They have been glad to note the absence of serious incidents in the last few weeks and trust that this will continue. They have noted with satisfac-

tion the indication that Israel is prepared to resume co-operation with the Israel-Jordan Mixed Armistice Commission. They trust that the agreement of the Israel Government to release blocked balances belonging to Arab refugees will contribute to the lowering of tension.

Her Majesty's Government attach great importance to friendly relations with Israel as with all countries in the Middle East and are prepared to do all in their power, in co-operation with the United Nations and with other like-minded Governments, to help to bring about a peaceful settlement of the tragic dispute between Israel and the Arab States. Such a settlement is essential if the countries of the Middle East are to develop their full prosperity and to be able to defend themselves against any threat of aggression from outside. The Government of Israel can count on the sympathy of Her Majesty's Government in their efforts to promote the peaceful progress and welfare of the Israeli people. Her Majesty's Government remain willing to co-operate in all measures designed to put an end to the present state of tension with Israel's neighbours and to pave the way for a wider settlement.

I have the honour to be,
with the highest consideration,
Your Excellency's obedient Servant,
(Sgd.) ANTHONY EDEN.

VR 1022/8

No. 22

ISRAEL KNESSET FOREIGN AFFAIRS DEBATE

Mr. Sharett's Speech

Mr. Nicholls to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received November 19)

(No. 202. Confidential) Tel Aviv,
Sir, November 16, 1954.

As I had the honour to report briefly in my telegram No. 328 of to-day, the Israel Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, Mr. Sharett, yesterday opened a three-day debate in the Knesset on foreign affairs. The greater part of Mr. Sharett's speech was devoted to a review of the present rôle of the United Kingdom in Middle East affairs, with particular reference to the recently concluded Anglo-Egyptian Agreement on the Suez Base.

2. Early in his speech the Prime Minister acknowledged Israel's appreciation of the public declaration by Her Majesty's

Government, contained in your note of November 19 to the Israel Ambassador in London, that they attached great importance to friendly relations with Israel, and were prepared to do all in their power to help bring about a peaceful settlement of the dispute between Israel and the Arab States. At the same time the Government of Israel could not, he said, accept this note as satisfactorily disposing of all the questions put to Her Majesty's Government by the Israel Ambassador, and arising out of the conclusion of the new treaty between Britain and Egypt.

3. Mr. Sharett said that the debate on Middle Eastern affairs in the House of

SECRET

Commons on November 2 had been followed with much interest in Israel, and that special note had been taken of your assurances that, by virtue of the 1950 Tripartite Declaration, Her Majesty's Government would "certainly come to the assistance of Israel were she attacked by an Arab State," and that in making deliveries of arms, Her Majesty's Government would continue to maintain a balance between Israel and the Arab States collectively. This "clear and binding" interpretation of the Tripartite Declaration, as Mr. Sharett described it, was a valuable and welcome step forward. Mr. Sharett added that the Government of Israel had sufficient reason to assume that Her Majesty's Government did not intend to send military assistance to Israel unless this was expressly requested. (This was an adroit reference to the gloss on your assurance which you authorised me to offer to Mr. Sharett in your telegram No. 748 of November 13.) The Tripartite Declaration, however, gave no indication of the circumstances in which support for Israel would be forthcoming or the form that such help would take. "Here," Mr. Sharett continued, "we are still up against obscure terms which call for elucidation and are faced with difficulties which can only be solved by a clear prior understanding." In any case, no international guarantee, however satisfactory in form, could ever take the place of a State's ability to defend itself. The change in the balance of forces in the Middle East obliged Israel to reinforce her own efforts and resources with regard to security, and entitled her to expect military assistance and facilities to buy arms from friendly States.

4. Turning to the gradual evolution of a series of alliances in the Middle East, Mr. Sharett regretted that Israel formed no part of this "close-knit web of treaties." Israel looked with amazement at this haste to recruit States in the defence of democracy which had neither interest nor ability to defend it, and could not ignore the fact that this system of treaties from which she was excluded, increased the threat to her security and was damaging to her political status.

5. In his references to relations between Israel and the Arab States, Mr. Sharett directed his criticism principally at Egypt. He reiterated the Israeli contention that the Egyptian Government had no right to prevent the free passage of Israeli ships through the Suez Canal, and declared that

the Israeli struggle over this issue would continue until the right of free passage for Israeli ships—which he described as a matter of absolute practical necessity—was recognised and upheld in principle. He claimed that continued sabotage and raiding in the area of the Gaza Strip gave no evidence of good intentions on the part of the Cairo Government which had been encouraged by the concessions made to Egypt without any guarantee of peace in return. How far Egypt was from a sense of international responsibility and moderation was demonstrated by the "show trial" in Alexandria of a group of Jews who had fallen victims to false libels of espionage and from whom confessions to imaginary crimes were being extracted by threats and torture. The Egyptian Government should realise that Israel's restraint in the face of this constant provocation was due solely to her wish to test Egypt's will and ability to curb aggression and restore order on her side of the border. No mention was made of any incidents along the border with Jordan.

6. In the absence of permanent peace, the Prime Minister continued, Israel would continue to carry out the Armistice Agreements as the "lesser evil" but would insist on their strict observance by the Arab States and United Nations Truce Supervision Organisation (U.N.T.S.O.). (Later in his speech Mr. Sharett said that Israel's relations with the Chief of Staff and the personnel of U.N.T.S.O. had "considerably improved" although they were still "not devoid of problems.") Israel would not agree to any changes in the Armistice Agreements unless these were freely arrived at between the parties concerned. Israel had offered to conclude non-aggression pacts with the Arab world. Even if the Arab States remained intransigent, this policy was likely to gain the support of the enlightened world and in time to affect Arab public opinion.

7. The Prime Minister made only brief references to Israel's relations with other Powers. He again criticised the decision of the United States Government to provide military and economic aid to the Arab States, in particular to Egypt, where unceasing upheavals daily threatened the stability of a régime which was devoid of any democratic basis. He referred to the cordial relations with France and to a recent agreement with that country for co-operation on atomic research for peaceful purposes. Friendly relations, strengthened

by improved commercial ties, existed with Turkey, France, Argentina, Yugoslavia and the Scandinavian countries. Trade with the Eastern bloc had also increased and the prospects of trade with China were soon to be explored by a special trade delegation which was to visit Peking. But, Mr. Sharett concluded, issues of security and the question of the future of the State, hemmed in on three sides by enemy countries, would continue to preoccupy the Israel Government and to form the background for recurring complications with the Great Powers.

8. Mr. Sharett's exposition of Israel's international situation, if it sometimes did less than justice to the difficulties of the other Governments concerned, seems to me to have been moderate in tone, and designed to persuade the Israel public to a belief in the virtues of patience. Certainly it compares favourably with the public utterances of the Arab leaders, some of which he quoted to good parliamentary

effect, while expressly stating that their influence should not be exaggerated. This moderation is, I believe, an encouraging sign of the growth of Mr. Sharett's ascendancy over his Coalition Government, and of his influence within his own party and in the country. His evident preoccupation with Anglo-Israel relations does not, I think, spring from any attempt to play us off against the Americans; I regard it rather as a reflection of the encouragement he personally has drawn from your active interest in the Israel-Arab dispute, which so completely dominates every aspect of life in this country.

9. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Washington, Paris, Amman, Beirut, Bagdad, Damascus, Cairo and the British Middle East Office.

I have, &c.

J. W. NICHOLLS.

VR 1902/1

No. 23

ISRAEL: HEADS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

Sir Francis Evans to Mr. Eden. (Received July 2)

(No. 120. Confidential) Tel Aviv,
Sir, June 28, 1954.

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith my report for 1954 on Heads of Foreign Missions in Israel.

2. There have been many changes in the list during the past twelve months, no fewer than eleven of the twenty resident Heads of Missions having been removed by death, transfer, or retirement.

I have, &c.

F. E. EVANS.

Passages marked with an asterisk are reproduced from previous reports

Argentina

Dr. Pablo Manguel, Minister (September 14, 1949).

Born in 1912, Dr. Manguel has a legal background and has written various books on labour problems in the field of trade unionism and co-operative societies. He has Jewish blood and is believed to be secretary-general of the Israelite Organisation of Argentina, which is affiliated to the Peronista Party. He claims close friendship with President Perón, and returns frequently to Argentina. During the spring of 1954 he contested a seat in the Argentine elections and was returned as a Peronista for a term of six years. He will be going back to Argentina to take up his seat early next year. Dr. Manguel is of a friendly nature, and is prepared to be co-operative. He speaks little French and less English. He has a large family retinue, and a not unattractive wife.

Belgium

M. Eugène Dubois, Minister (April 20, 1950).

*M. Dubois is a career diplomat who has served in the Belgian Foreign Service since 1922. He came to Tel Aviv from Bucharest, having been transferred prematurely because he has a Roumanian wife. She has great charm and good nature; he is rather dull, except when breaking all speed limits. Like most of the Latin representatives here he dislikes Israel and takes little interest in its problems. (Written in 1953.)

Brazil

Shr. José Fabrino de Oliveira Baiao, Minister (March 28, 1952.)

*Shr. Fabrino is a career member of the Brazilian Foreign Service who has served several times in London, though from 1930 to 1934 he left the Service and engaged in politics, being closely associated with the "Integralist" (Fascist) Party. He also served in Glasgow from 1942 to 1945. He is a friendly individual who is married but unaccompanied by his wife. He is not greatly troubled by the lack of work in representing Brazilian interests in Tel Aviv, (written in 1953), and entertains at his residence on a considerable scale. His passion is dancing, in the most florid South American manner. He speaks good English.

Shr. Fabrino is about to retire; his successor has not yet been named.

Bulgaria

No successor to M. Bogdanov, who left in May, has yet arrived.

Chile

Dr. Samuel Avendano Sepulvedo, Minister (June 16, 1953).

Aged about fifty-five and a leading physician from Valparaiso, Dr. Sepulvedo was President of the Agrarian Labour Party in that region. He has no previous diplomatic experience, and presumably owes his appointment to the fact that he belongs to the same political party as the President of the Republic.

Dr. Sepulvedo, who is also Chilean Ambassador to Turkey, is rarely seen in Israel.

Czechoslovakia

M. Josef Panec, Chargé d'Affaires, *a.i.* (June 24, 1953).

An anxious-looking man of about forty, of *petit-fonctionnaire* appearance. M. Panec has little contact with his non-Communist colleagues outside formal occasions. His wife is a stolid lady of Germanic type, who is reputed to be of religious inclination, apparently unsatisfied.

Denmark

M. H. P. Hoffmeyer, Minister (December 7, 1950).

*Resides in Turkey. (Written in 1953.)

Finland

M. Toivo I. Kala, Chargé d'Affaires (January 23, 1953).

M. Kala has served principally in the Far East and Turkey. He is a friendly and sociable man, but one with whom official contact is rare. Although he has never served in an English-speaking country, he and his wife speak good English. Mme. Kala, like her husband humorous, pleasant and friendly, is characteristically Finnish in her solid and wholesome appearance.

France

M. Pierre Gilbert, Ambassador (March 4, 1953).

M. Gilbert was born in Dunkirk in 1907 and, before entering the French Foreign Service in 1932 as a specialist in oriental languages, served in the French Navy. He spent most of the pre-war period in China. Shortly after the outbreak of war he returned to the French Naval Service, leaving it after the internment of the French Fleet at Alexandria. He then joined the Royal Navy, and appears to have considerable pride in his service in it and a regard for the British no less high. He served with the French National Liberation Committee in Algiers and rejoined the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1944. In 1947 he became French Minister at Bangkok and subsequently French Ambassador at Lima. He is a Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur and also holds the Croix de Guerre and the Resistance Medal. As a result of a shooting accident, he has only one lung, a handicap which in no way interferes with his activity in work and sport.

Both he and his wife, a statuesque Greek, are pleasant and elegant, and entertain well. He is well-disposed towards Israel, and has made a successful effort to restore the position of the French Embassy, which had suffered from the frankly hostile and critical attitude of his predecessor. M. Gilbert is inclined to pursue an independent line, even in matters closely concerning the other Tripartite representatives.

Greece

M. Jean Moschopoulos, Diplomatic Representative (February 23, 1952.)

*M. Moschopoulos, who resides in Jerusalem, where he was previously Greek Consul-General, is recognised by the Israel Government as performing most of the functions of a diplomatic representative although Greece has not yet accorded *de jure* recognition to Israel. (Written in 1953.)

Hungary

M. Istvan Romhanyi, Chargé d'Affaires (June 19, 1950).

M. Romhanyi is the most friendly and approachable of the Satellite Heads of Mission. He is in the early forties, and was previously Consul-General at New York. He and his wife, also friendly, speak some English and are prepared to maintain social contacts.

Iceland

M. Helgi P. Briem, Minister.

*Resides in Stockholm. (Written in 1953.)

Italy

Il Marchese Capomazza di Campolattaro, Minister (December 16, 1953).

The Marchese is fifty-one, and a Neapolitan. He claims to be a Royalist, and in the Fascist era served at the Office of the Foreign Press of the Ministry of Popular Culture. He is a small, amiable man, with considerable professional experience and all the social graces. He inclines to perfumed elegance of appearance. He is married, but his wife and their one child have not yet joined him in Israel.

Netherlands

M. Gideon W. Boissevain, Minister (May 4, 1953).

M. Boissevain was born in Montreal, where his father was honorary Netherlands Consul. His young and attractive wife was born in Austria of a Russian émigré family. He has served in consular and diplomatic capacities in many countries, including the United Kingdom, Canada, the United States, France, China, Chile, Peru and Greece, whence he came to Israel. He is a pleasant man of distinguished appearance, aged about forty-five; he and his wife both speak English and have fluent French, and they have proved to be friendly and co-operative.

M. Boissevain remains the only Western diplomatic representative, aside from the Greek, established in Jerusalem.

Norway

M. Ernst Hougen, Minister (October 23, 1952).

*Resides at Athens. Previously acted as Norwegian Chargé d'Affaires in Israel. (Written in 1953.)

Roumania

M. Ioan Pricop, Chargé d'Affaires (January 10, 1954).

M. Pricop is a young man of about thirty-five, whose somewhat sinister face is usually set in lines of gloom. His only foreign language seems to be Russian, and if only for this reason it is not easy to come to social terms with him.

Soviet Union

M. A. N. Abramov, Minister (December 2, 1953).

Early in 1945, M. Abramov was head of the Fourth European Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, in which capacity he signed the Soviet-Polish trade and frontier treaties. From September 1945 to April 1946 he served as head of the Fifth European Department, which deals with Finland and the Scandinavian countries, and a few

months later was appointed Soviet Minister to Finland, where he remained until early 1948. In 1949 he was appointed as Ambassador to Sweden, but was prevented from taking up his post on account of illness.

It is evident from M. Abramov's expansive manner that he is under instructions to be cordial, both to the other diplomatic missions and to the Israelis. His appearance is one of considerable strength and energy, and he confesses to being impressed by the achievements he has seen during his extensive tours throughout the country. He knows no English, but some French, though he prefers to speak Russian through an interpreter. His wife, whose English is good, seems friendly, easy-mannered and rather charming.

M. Abramov is shortly to present to the President fresh credentials as Ambassador, following on the elevation of the Soviet and Israel Missions to the status of Embassies.

Sweden

M. Jens Malling, Chargé d'Affaires (July 6, 1953).

M. Malling was born in 1909 and joined the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1938. He subsequently served in Rome, Chicago, Washington and New York, was appointed Swedish Vice-Consul at Hamburg in November 1945, and First Secretary and Chargé d'Affaires, *a.i.*, in Vienna in September 1946. He returned to the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1948.

M. Malling is personable and of very attractive appearance, handsome and pleasant. He is serious and responsible, and his manner is diplomatic and cautious. He is disposed to consult this Embassy freely.

Switzerland

M. Fritz Hegg, Minister (April 22, 1954).

M. Hegg, who is in his early fifties, was formerly in charge of the Administrative Division of the Political Department in Switzerland, and has served in Canada. He seems active and vigorous and disposed to enter into friendly relations. He is married, and accompanied by his wife, who appears equally agreeable and friendly. Both speak adequate English.

Turkey

Mr. Sefkati Istinyeli, Minister (December 22, 1952).

*Mr. Istinyeli was born in Constantinople in 1897, the grandson of a former Vizier. He was educated at Constantinople and at Paris and is a career diplomat with considerable experience. He was Minister in Bucharest and Sofia before coming to Tel Aviv. He is a bachelor and a keen bridge player and a notorious gossip. He has a shrewd manner and I suspect enjoys intrigue. Though unprepossessing he is friendly and forthcoming.

He speaks no English. (Written in 1953.)

United States

Mr. Edward B. Lawson has been appointed Ambassador, but is not expected to arrive in Israel for a further two months.

He was born in Newport, Tennessee, in 1894, and educated at Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. Since entering the Bureau of Domestic Commerce in 1926, Mr. Lawson has served, on the economic and commercial side, in Johannesburg, London, Prague, Managua and Ankara. His last appointment has been as United States Minister to Iceland.

He is married.

Uruguay

Sr. Juan C. Arizti, Chargé d'Affaires (November 12, 1951).

*A career diplomat, but probably the most discontented of all the corps here. He and his wife have felt lonely and unhappy and have been unable to settle down. Presumably he has no work to do, and he hates Israel.

His French is bad, his English worse. His wife speaks fair French and has now acquired some English. (Written in 1953.)

Yugoslavia

M. Jovan Vukmanovic, Minister (May 25, 1954).

M. Vukmanovic, whose previous appointment was Consul-General in Marseilles, was formerly a teacher of classical Greek. He seems less the "people's representative" than his more rugged predecessor M. Bratic, and more broadly European. He is between forty-five and fifty, personable, and speaks good French and English. He appears to be friendly and responsive. His wife, who speaks some French, is also pleasant and friendly.

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

VR 1012/2

No. 24

LEADING PERSONALITIES IN ISRAEL

Mr. Nicholls to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received December 23)

(No. 214. Confidential) Tel Aviv,
Sir, December 20, 1954.

I have the honour to forward herewith a report on the leading personalities in Israel for the year 1954-55.

I have, &c.

J. W. NICHOLLS.

Enclosure

Glossary

AGUDAT ISRAEL.—World organisation of strictly orthodox Jews; founded in 1912; opposed Zionism for many years as running contrary to Jewish Messianic beliefs; since the establishment of the State it has co-operated with the Jewish Agency and the Government.

GENERAL ZIONIST PARTY.—Conservative middle class party in Israel, protagonists of private enterprise.

HAGANAH.—Haganah was the underground Jewish armed defence force controlled by the Jewish Agency during the Mandate. Became the regular army of Israel on the establishment of the State.

HAMASHBIR HAMERKAZI.—Histadrut Wholesale Co-operative Society.

HAPOEL HAMIZRAHI.—Religious Labour party.

HASHOMER HATZAIR.—Extreme Left Socialist Zionist youth movement and political party. (See Mapam.)

HISTADRUT.—The General Federation of Jewish Labour in Israel.

HERUT.—Extreme Nationalist political party in Israel. (See I.Z.L.)

HEVER HAKVUTZOT (The Association of Kvutzot).—Hever Hakvutzot is an organisation of pro-Mapai collective settlements in the country.

IRGUN ZVAI LEUMI.—Underground terrorist group Founded in 1937 to fight the Mandatory régime. (Dissolved since the creation of the State and formed into a new party—Herut.)

JEWISH AGENCY.—Central Jewish body combining all Jews, Zionists and non-Zionists alike. Founded in 1929 and now concerned with education and Zionist activities abroad and with the absorption of immigrants into Israel.

KIBBUTZ.—(plural, Kibbutzim: resident of, Kibbutznik). A collective agricultural settlement.

KIBBUTZ ARTZI (Country-wide Kibbutz).—Kibbutz Artzi is the organisation of kibbutzim belonging to the Hashomer Hatzair movement.

KNESSET.—Assembly—the Israel Parliament, which has only one Chamber. (M.K.=Member of the Kneset.)

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LE'ACHDUT AVODA.—A new independent political party, established in 1954, whose members are drawn from two former factions of Mapam, namely Le'Achdut Avoda and Poalei Zion Smol. MAPAI.—Initials of "Mifleget Poalei Eretz Israel," the Labour Party; Israel's largest political party. (Moderate Socialist.)

MAPAM.—Initials of "Mifleget Poalim Me-uhedet." United Workers' Party, or the Left-wing Socialist Labour Party (fellow-travellers). It now consists of a single faction, Hashomer Hatzair.

MIZRAHI.—Religious Conservative party.

PALMACH.—The former crack striking force of the Haganah, formed of Mapam adherents.

POALEI ZION.—The Jewish Socialist Movement abroad, of Mapai complexion.

SOLEL BONEH.—Solal Boneh is the Histadrut's building-contracting institution, the largest in Israel.

VAAAD LEUMI.—The General Council of the executive body of the elected Assembly which represented the Jewish communities in Palestine during the Mandate (now dissolved).

WORLD MACCABI UNION.—Union representing Maccabi Sports Clubs throughout the world. It organises the Maccabiah or International Jewish "Olympic" Games. "Maccabi" is Israel's oldest sports organisation.

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Obituary

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1. Agron, Gershon

Editor and journalist.

Born 1893 at Czernigov (Russia). Emigrated to the United States in 1916 and studied at Philadelphia University. Edited a Yiddish paper in 1917. Joined Jewish Legion in 1918 and on demobilisation settled in Palestine. In 1920-21 and 1924-27 head of the Zionist Organisation Press Bureau. In the interval he was editor of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency in New York. Back in Palestine in 1924 he became correspondent for some English newspapers. In 1932 he founded *The Palestine Post* (now *Jerusalem Post*). He lost the financial control in 1948. In 1949 he became director of Israel Information Services, but resigned in February 1951, to return to the editorship of the *Jerusalem Post*. In 1951 his name was included in the list of Mapai candidates for the Knesset. He travels widely and has recently made an extensive tour of South East Asia and the Far East.

Mr. Agron is Israel's leading English-language journalist, though of American rather than British outlook. He claims to be pro-British but is only really so on his own terms. In politics he tends towards the Left. Had diplomatic and political ambitions and is disappointed that they have not been realised.

2. Alon, Yigal

Secretary-General of Le'Achdut Avoda.

Born in 1909 and a member of Kibbutz Ginosar (a Mapam settlement). Yigal Alon was the founder and first commander of the Palmach, the crack Israel striking force, largely composed of Mapam kibbutzniks, which distinguished itself in the Palestine War but was subsequently disbanded owing to its Left-wing ideals. Yigal Alon held the rank of Aloof (Brigadier) in the Palestine War and commanded the Israel forces in the Negev campaign, as a result of which the Egyptian Army was driven out of the Negev. He has claimed publicly that he could easily have occupied Gaza and Hebron in 1948, but was ordered not to do so by the Government. In 1949 he was retired from the army in the purge of Mapam commanders and he subsequently went to England to study and was very favourably

impressed. He spent a long time in London studying economics and social questions. He is a leading member and Secretary-General of Le'Achdut Avoda, which broke away from Mapam in August 1954.

Mr. Alon is regarded by Israelis as a born leader of men and is looked on by young people as a national hero.

3. Aranne, Zalman

Minister without Portfolio (1954).

Born at Yuzovka (Stalino) in South Russia in 1899. Attended the Agronomic Institute in Kharkov. Was a Zionist before the Russian Revolution and from 1920 was a member of the Central Committee of the underground Zionist Socialist Party. Came to Palestine in 1926. First a labourer, he later made a career in the secretariat of Jewish labour organisations, finally becoming a secretary of the Workers' Council of Tel Aviv. He was a delegate to the World Zionist Congresses of 1933 and 1935 and is a member of the Zionist Organisation's Action Committee.

In 1935-36 Mr. Aranne was in London studying trade union questions on behalf of the Histadrut. In the latter he has held the posts of Treasurer, Head of the Publicity Department and Director of the Workers' Training College. Originally associated with the Achdut Ha'avoda (Union of Labour) movement, Mr. Aranne followed it when in 1927-30 it amalgamated with other groups to form the Mapai Party, but he remained faithful to Mapai when the Left-wing of the movement again broke away in 1944. In 1948 he became Mapai's first Secretary-General and a Deputy in 1949. In the Knesset he became chairman of the Foreign Affairs and Security Committee, a position he held until February 1951, when he resigned to organise Mapai's election campaign. After the elections he resigned his post of Secretary-General of Mapai. Shortly after entering Mr. Sharett's Cabinet he was nominated Minister responsible for information matters.

Mr. Aranne, who is a forceful speaker, has played a prominent and constructive part in Knesset debates. In 1950 he was one of Israel's delegates to the General Assembly of the United Nations. He is also one of his party's leading political tacticians. A possible future Foreign Minister. Is friendly.

4. Argov, Meier

Mapai M.K. (1949). Born in the Ukraine in 1905. Came to Palestine 1925. Active in the Histadrut's trade union department, he became a member of the Histadrut executive, chairman of the Tel-Aviv labour exchange and chairman of the Union of Israel Labour Exchanges. In the Second World War he served with the Jewish Brigade. He sat as a representative of the Va'ad Leumi Executive on the Emergency Committee of 1947-48. Member of the Provisional Council of State in 1948, elected M.K. in 1949. He was also a member of the Zionist General Council. In February 1951 he succeeded Aranne (q.v.) as chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Security Committee. From November 1951 until the spring of 1954 he was Secretary-General of Mapai. He asked to be relieved of this post on grounds of ill-health.

He retains these functions in the second Knesset, and in addition is chairman of the Steering Committee. He consistently advocates a policy of strong reaction to Arab hostility.

5. Avidar, Aloof (Brigadier) Josef

Head of General Staff Branch, G.H.Q.

Born in Russia in 1906. Took part in the organisation of Haganah and served with Wingate's night squads from 1936-37, losing an arm in operations. He was a senior staff officer from 1948 onwards and has commanded the Northern and

Central Areas. He led an army delegation to Yugoslavia in 1952. In 1953 he attended a course in the United Kingdom (Senior Officers' School), where he was reported on as "a widely read and trained professional soldier of considerable ability," although this is perhaps a rather flattering description by Western standards. On his return to Israel, he was appointed Head of the General Staff.

Brigadier Avidar is generally believed to be a "moderate" in his attitude towards the Israel-Arab problem. He is married to a daughter of Yaakov Tsur (q.v.).

6. Avner, Gershon

Diplomat.

Born in Berlin in 1919. Studied at Oxford and became president of the Union, subsequently serving in London with the Jewish Agency's Political Department. On coming to Israel he became head of the Western European Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In March 1952 he took part in the negotiations for reparations from Western Germany as political adviser to the Israel delegation. Subsequently he was appointed counsellor and chargé d'affaires in Hungary and Bulgaria and is now counsellor at the Israel Embassy in London.

Mr. Avner is highly intelligent and an agreeable personality. His wife is a naturalised British subject.

7. Avriel, Ehud

Born in Vienna in 1918. Mr. Avriel came to Palestine just before the Second World War and joined a kibbutz. In 1943 he went to Istanbul on behalf of the Jewish Agency and took part in the rescue of Jews from Germany, co-operating also with Allied intelligence organisations. From 1945 to 1948 he was in Czechoslovakia and in 1948 he was appointed first Israel Minister to Czechoslovakia and Hungary. In June 1950 he was transferred to Bucharest. He accompanied the Prime Minister on his private journey to Athens and London in December 1950, and in April 1951 was appointed Director-General of the Prime Minister's Office. In November 1951 he was appointed to supervise the administration of United States grant-in-aid funds. In June 1952 he was appointed Director-General of the Ministry of Finance in succession to Horowitz (q.v.), continuing to be responsible for grant-in-aid matters. He resigned from this post in 1953 and retired to a Kibbutz settlement. Agreeable and co-operative, Mr. Avriel had the reputation of being a competent official, but was not thought to be of the same calibre as Mr. Horowitz. He was, however, one of Mr. Ben-Gurion's chosen lieutenants. He was cited as an "American agent" in the Slansky-Clementis purge trial in Prague in 1952.

8. Ayalon, Aloof (Brigadier) Zvi

Commander, Central Military Command.

Brigadier Ayalon came to Palestine from Russia in 1925 at the age of 15; he was one of the earliest members of the Haganah. He was a Senior Commander during the war against the Arabs, acted as Quartermaster-General in 1952 and 1953, and took up his present appointment early in 1954 after a three months' course at the Senior Officers' School at Devizes. He was there reported on as hard-working, shrewd and sound. He combines a likeable personality with the appearance of a bullet-headed Prussian.

9. Azania, Baruch

Mapai M.K. (1951).

Born in Russia in 1905. Educated at the University of Königsberg. Studied law. He was Secretary-General of the Poalei Zion in Germany from 1928-29 and a member of the World Office of

Poalei Zion. He was a delegate to Zionist congresses and came to Palestine in 1933. From 1945-49 he was a member of the Histadrut Executive and worked as a teacher. In February 1951 he was given a seat in the Knesset to fill a Mapai vacancy. He took an active part in the Mapai secretariat and was one of the leaders of the Kibbutz Meuhad federation before its disruption. In 1951 he was re-elected to the second Knesset on the Mapai list and a month later he became a member of Mapai's seven-man steering committee.

10. Bader, Dr. Yochanan

Herut M.K. (1949).

Born in 1901 at Cracow. Studied law at Cracow University and was a leader of the Revisionists in Galicia. Came to Palestine in 1943, worked as a journalist and economist and was also active in the Irgun Zvai Leumi. Associated with the Revisionist paper *Hamashkif* and became editor of *Herut* on joining that party in 1948. Elected M.K., 1949, and was chairman of the Herut-Revisionist World Executive, 1949-51. Re-elected 1951. He is a member of the Herut Executive Committee.

Dr. Bader is the leading Herut expert on economics. He is a poor speaker but a clear thinker who commands a more attentive hearing than most members of his party.

11. Barkatt, Reuven

Director of the Political Department of the Histadrut.

Born in Russia in 1906. Educated at Strasbourg and the Sorbonne.

Mr. Barkatt is a leading member of the Histadrut Executive Bureau of nine, and is Political Secretary and head of the International Arab and Organisation Departments of the Histadrut. He is also a member of the Central Committee of Mapai. He led the Histadrut delegation to the United Kingdom in 1950 and travels extensively to international labour conferences, again visiting England in 1952. He represents Mapai at the meetings of the Asian Socialist Congress and has visited Indonesia, India and Burma. Speaks English, French, Hebrew, Russian and German. He is shy and reserved at first but talks interestingly when his reserve is broken down and has a sense of humour. He is very friendly. A strong character.

12. Barth, Dr. Aharon

Banker.

Born in 1890 in Berlin. Educated at Berlin and Heidelberg Universities and at the Berlin Rabbinical Seminary. One of the leaders of the Mizrahi religious Zionist movement in Germany. Came to Palestine and entered the Anglo-Palestine Bank (now the Bank Leumi), of which he is general manager. He is also on the board of the Foundation Fund and of the Hebrew University. During the World War he was chairman of the Executive Committee for the Enlistment and Relief Fund and for the National War Loan. In 1950 he was appointed chairman of a new State Corporation for the development of the Negev. He is a member of the Economic Advisory Council and was President of the Congress Court at the 23rd Zionist Congress in 1951. In November 1952 he was asked by the religious parties to stand for the Presidency but after thinking it over he declined.

Dr. Barth is strictly orthodox. He is a strong dignified man, and is prepared (outwardly, at least) to be helpful.

13. Bartur, Moshe

Government official.

Born at Moseiska in 1919. Came to Palestine from Germany and until 1948 lived in a kibbutz, of

which he is still a member. He became Deputy Director of the Economic Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1950 and in 1951 Acting Director of the Division. He has travelled extensively on economic delegations and in 1952 accompanied Mr. Horowitz to London. Since 1953 he has been responsible for the negotiation of trade agreements between Israel and various European countries. He is helpful and of sound judgment.

14. Bar-Yehuda, Israel

Le'Achdut Avoda M.K. (1954).

Born 1895 in Poland. Trained as engineer. Came to Palestine in 1926 and joined kibbutz Yagur, near Haifa. Was one of the founders of Achdut Avoda. He became a member of the Va'ad Leumi and was a delegate to Zionist congresses. Elected to the Knesset on the Mapam list in 1949, he became Mapam whip and soon made his mark as a parliamentarian. Re-elected in 1951. He is a member of the Zionist General Council.

An active member of the peace movement who has denounced United States "warmongers" and strongly opposes the rearming of Western Germany. In the past he opposed the out-and-out pro-Soviet line of the Hashomer Hatzair majority within Mapam, and stressed at meetings of the Mapam Council, of which he was a member, the Soviet Union's opposition to Zionism and its refusal to allow Russian Jews to emigrate to Israel and has strongly opposed undue subservience to the Communist bloc. He is now one of the leaders of the newly-created independent Le'Achdut Avoda Party.

15. Barzilai, Israel

Mapam leader.

Born in Poland and educated there, the son of a timber merchant. Joined Hashomer Hatzair and later studied at the Sorbonne. Settled in Palestine in 1934, joining a Hashomer Hatzair kibbutz at Karkur, which subsequently merged with Kibbutz Negba. Was active in Hashomer Hatzair political work and in Histadrut activities and was a founder member of the Israel-Poland Friendship League. In April 1946, he visited Poland as an Israel unofficial representative and in August 1949, was appointed Minister at Warsaw, the only member of Mapam to be given a diplomatic post abroad. His staff were also members of Mapam. He held this post until the end of 1950, when he returned to Kibbutz Negba. In April 1953 he was elected political secretary of Mapam in place of Rittin (q.v.). He appears to be an Orthodox Mapam member who, while holding extreme Left views, is a convinced Zionist and opposes out-and-out identification with Stalinism.

16. Bastoni, Rustum

Mapam M.K. (1951).

An Arab born at Tira near Haifa in 1923. After an Anglican education he studied architecture at Haifa. Later he became Secretary-General of the Arab Section of Mapam, a member of the Israel Committee of the World Peace Movement and of the National Committee of the Israel-U.S.S.R. Friendship League. In 1949 he stood unsuccessfully as a member of the "Arab national bloc." In 1951 he was elected to the Knesset on the Mapam list. He was a delegate to the Warsaw Peace Congress in 1951, and the Vienna Peace Conference in 1952. At the end of 1952 he at first supported Dr. Sneh and the pro-Soviet dissidents who broke away from Mapam and helped to organise the "Left Faction" but in March 1953 he quarrelled with his associates and asked to be readmitted to Mapam.

17. Becker, Aharon

Trade union official.

Born in Poland in 1905. Came to Palestine in the 'twenties and has been for over twenty years a trade union official. He is now head of the trade union department of the Histadrut (General Confederation of Jewish Labour), a post which he has held since June 1949. A member of the Histadrut Executive. In 1950 he led a trade union delegation to Yugoslavia and from 1943-48 he was a director of Hamashbir Hamerkazi and head of its industrial department. In 1951 he visited the United Kingdom to study trade union and labour affairs and also to improve his English. He also visited the United States, France and Canada on trade union affairs. A trade union member of the Economic Advisory Council.

Mr. Becker is an influential trade union leader and a possible successor to Mr. Namir as Secretary-General of the Histadrut. He is friendly and well-disposed and a powerful opponent of Mapam. Though an able man, his health is not good, and like many Israel leaders, he consistently overworks.

18. Beigin, Menahem

Leader of Herut Party.

Born 1913 at Brest-Litovsk. Studied law at Warsaw University. At an early age joined the Revisionist Youth Movement, Betar. Appointed head of Betar in Czechoslovakia in 1936 and was head of its Polish section in 1939. After Soviet occupation of East Poland he was arrested and sent to Siberian concentration camps. Released under the Stalin-Sikorsky agreement, he joined the Polish Army with which he came to Palestine in 1942. He later left it and joined the anti-British underground movement, becoming leader of the terrorist "National Military Organisation" (Irgun Zvai Leumi). He emerged in public after May 1948, when he announced the transformation of the Irgun into a political party, the "Freedom Movement" (Herut), under his leadership. In September 1948, he succeeded in incorporating the majority of the Revisionist Party into it. Elected M.K. 1949 and 1951, and re-elected chairman of the party in April 1954.

To revive his dwindling party he campaigned actively against negotiations with Germany on reparations and, after instigating serious riots in Jerusalem in January 1952, he went abroad to raise funds and gain support.

Mr. Beigin is a lean sinister-looking intellectual with vulture-like features and rimless glasses. His undoubted oratorical talent and keen intelligence are warped by bitter extremism. Hatred of the British is still one of his main preoccupations and he glories in his murderous past. His memoirs were published in 1951, and an English edition, "The Revolt," was put on sale in London.

19. Bejarano, Moshe

Industrialist.

Born at Plovdiv, Bulgaria, in 1902. Educated in Switzerland and Italy. With his brothers he established a leading cigarette business in Bulgaria and on coming to Palestine he co-operated with them in the foundation of the "Assis" fruit-juice, citrus product and cigarette factory at Ramat Gan. From 1948-49 he was commercial counsellor to the Israel Legation in Moscow. He frequently represents Israel at commercial conferences abroad. In 1954 he went on a Government-sponsored mission to India and the Far East, to explore possibilities of increasing Israel's exports.

Mr. Bejarano is a Sephardic Jew and he and his brothers talk Ladino among themselves. He, himself, is highly intelligent and sophisticated and speaks a number of languages. He and his wife are much seen socially in Tel Aviv. His brother,

Shimon Bejarano, is a General Zionist Member of the Knesset.

20. Ben-Aharon, Yitzhak

Le'Achdut Avoda M.K. (1954).

Born in Bukovina in 1906. Studied economics and law in Berlin. Came to Palestine in 1928 and joined kibbutz Givat Haim. Was a delegate to Zionist Congresses and became a member of the Zionist Actions Committee and of the Histadrut Council. During the Second World War he served in the British Army as a captain in the Royal Engineers; prisoner of war 1941-45. He became secretary-General of Mapam and was elected to the Knesset in 1949 and 1951. Member of the Central Committee of Mapam until, in 1954, he left the party with other members of the Le'Achdut Avoda faction, of which he has for some time been a leading member. He is well disposed and speaks good English, but in public advocates a "neutralist" foreign policy identified neither with Russia nor with the West. An intense, serious and impressive personality.

21. Ben Gurion, Amos

Assistant Inspector-General of Police (1950).

Born in London in 1920, the son of David Ben-Gurion (q.v.). Educated at Herzlia Gymnasium, Tel Aviv, and the Kadoorie Agricultural School, Mount Tabor. Joined the British Army in 1940 and served with the Jewish Brigade in the Italian, Belgian and Dutch campaigns, being demobilised in 1946 with the rank of Major. Was Liaison Officer of Haganah with the British Army from 1947-48 and conducted the negotiations with the British authorities about the status of Jaffa in May 1948. During the Palestine War he commanded an infantry regiment and saw action near Tel Aviv and at Latrun. During the first cease-fire in June 1948 he acted as a liaison officer. Later in the year he joined the Israel Police Force, in which he has since served as Superintendent and later Assistant Inspector-General.

Mr. Ben Gurion is a serious yet slothful individual, and lacks his father's physical drive and mental agility. He has an English Gentile wife, who comes from the Isle of Man.

22. Ben-Gurion, David

Mapai M.K.

Born at Plonsk in Poland in 1886 of an orthodox Jewish family, he received a traditional religious education, which he managed to supplement. Early in life he became interested in the Jewish Socialist movement (Poale Zion). His activities as a revolutionary orator during the pogroms of 1905 led to his being blacklisted by the Russian Government, and in 1906 he emigrated to Palestine. He worked as an agricultural labourer at Petah Tikva and later at the wine cellars at Rishon-le-Zion. He continued his Socialist activity and persuaded the local Socialists to turn from Yiddish to Hebrew. In 1913 he spent a year studying law at Constantinople. In 1915 he was expelled from Palestine to Egypt, still being a Russian subject, and made his way to the United States. Here he helped to prepare pioneer settlers for Palestine and American Jewish units for the British army. He became a private in the Royal Fusiliers and returned to Palestine with General Allenby's army.

After the war he took part in the formation of the Achdut Avoda (United Labour) Party (1919) and in the same year was elected to the Zionist Executive. He played a leading part in the creation of the Histadrut and remained its general secretary until 1933. In 1930, when Achdut Avoda and Hapoel Hatzair merged to form Mapai, he emerged as the unquestioned leader of the party. From then on he

became an increasingly important figure in the Zionist movement. In 1935 he joined the Executive of the World Zionist Organisation and became chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive in Jerusalem and the effective leader of Palestine Jewry. He was bitterly opposed to the White Paper of 1939, and events favoured his line rather than the restraint advocated by Dr. Weizmann, then the outstanding figure in the Zionist movement. The Second World War delayed the crisis. Mr. Ben-Gurion threw himself wholeheartedly into the war effort and the recruitment of Jews, though later his motives were probably more political than otherwise. In 1942, while Weizmann hesitated, he sponsored the Biltmore programme, which called for the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth and army and unrestricted immigration. In 1946 he was interned for eight months for connivance at terrorism. In 1947, after the United Nations partition resolution, he was elected chairman of the National Council and put in charge of security and defence. When the Mandate ended he was already the appointed leader of a shadow Government. He took over the Defence portfolio and his personal energy and initiative were an important factor in Israel's victory over the Arabs. The war was under his personal direction, and he emerged from it a national hero. After it he quickly and ruthlessly suppressed the private army of the Irgun Zvai Leumi and purged the army of Mapam leaders, destroying the separate identity of the Palmach and making the army his own loyal instrument.

In the 1949 elections Mapai emerged the strongest party and Ben-Gurion formed a coalition Government. He subsequently made periodical efforts to broaden his Government but without success. Disagreements with the religious parties became ever more acute and finally brought about the defeat of the Government in 1951. After the 1951 elections he formed a new coalition not very different from the old, in which he continued as Prime Minister and Minister of Defence. He spent May 1951 touring the United States, primarily to raise funds. In December 1952 he formed a new coalition Government with the General Zionists, again becoming Prime Minister and Minister of Defence.

In December 1953 he announced his intention of resigning from the offices of Prime Minister and Minister of Defence and withdrew, with his wife, to the remote and isolated settlement of Sde Boker, in the Negev, some 30 kilom. south of Beersheba. His professed motive for retiring from public life is to be relieved from the physical and mental strains imposed upon him as Prime Minister, in order to devote a period of time to thought and study, to write, and to rekindle the pioneering spirit in Israel. He makes regular excursions from Sde Boker to participate in national and party functions, and receives a regular flow of visitors in the Negev.

Mr. Ben-Gurion is a man of great energy and self-confidence who does not easily brook opposition. He is brusque and impulsive and enjoys defying conventions; emotional and with a streak of Messianic fervour; a forthright and determined leader with a direct and fundamentally honest approach. He is an admirer of Mr. Churchill and the England of 1940. He is a voracious reader, with a predilection for Plato, and speaks several languages, including English. His wife, formerly a nurse, comes from New York.

23. Ben-Tov, Mordechai

Mapam M.K. (1949).

Born in 1900 at Grodzisk near Warsaw. Attended the Politechnion and University of Warsaw and Law Classes, Jerusalem. Came to Palestine in 1920. A founder of the Hashomer Hatzair movement. Delegate to various Zionist congresses and member of the Zionist Executive (1935). Member of the

Agricultural Committee (1938). Delegate to the Round Table Conference, London (1939). Member of the Histadrut Executive Committee (1942). Member of the Provisional Council of State and Minister of Labour and Reconstruction in the Provisional Government (1948). Was elected to the Knesset in 1949 and 1951. Became, in 1951, chairman of the Knesset Economic Committee. In December 1952 he led the Israel delegation to the Vienna "peace conference."

Mr. Ben-Tov is essentially a man of Hashomer Hatzair. He is a member and resident of Mishmar Ha'emek, one of its leading communal settlements, where his wife runs the school, which has considerable local renown. For years he has been editor of *Al Hamishmar*, organ of the movement. He is a man of considerable erudition and speaks six languages, and has made a study of Arab-Jewish relations. Fellow journalists say that he will always be found on the side of the majority in Mapam, and indeed he appears now to be a time-server.

24. Ben-Zvi, Yitzhak, M.B.E.

President of Israel (1952).

Born 1894 at Poltava. Studied at Kiev University and was an active promoter of Socialist Zionism in Russia, Germany and Switzerland. Settled in Palestine in 1907. Studied law at Istanbul University (1913-14), was expelled from Palestine (1915), went to the United States, worked on preparing pioneers for Palestine, helped to recruit the Jewish Legion and served in it (1918-20). One of the founders of the Va'ad Leumi (General Council of the Jewish Community); from 1920 onwards member of its Præsidium and its president from 1931 to 1948. Twice appointed to the High Commissioner's Council, but resigned; in both cases on the immigration issue. In 1937 he represented the Jewish community in Palestine at the coronation of King George VI. Has been delegate at Zionist Congresses and a member of the Zionist General Council. A founder of the Histadrut and of Mapai. Member of the Provisional Council of State (1948) and of the Knesset (1949). Re-elected 1951.

In November 1952 he was nominated by Mapai as their candidate for the Presidency and a month later he was elected to that office on the third ballot.

Mr. Ben-Zvi is a simple and modest man who is universally liked and respected, and he has shown dignity, moderation and sense in his new office, which is largely symbolic. He is quite unaffected, and lived for years in a small wooden hut in Jerusalem. Before being elected President he took little part in active politics, but was looked upon as the "grand old man" of Mapai. He is a leading orientalist and the author of several books and many articles, and an authority on the Samaritan community. One of his two sons was killed in the Palestine War.

25. Berger, Herzl

Mapai M.K. and journalist.

Born in Russia, 1904. Educated at Minsk and Jena University. Came to Palestine in 1934 after having been prominent in Germany and Poland in the Zionist cause, and secretary-general of Poalei Zion from 1933-34. Since 1935 he has been closely associated with *Davar*, the Histadrut daily, and sat on the editorial board from 1935 until 1953, when the board was disbanded. He edits a German language weekly for Mapai called *Dapim*, is a former editor of a daily for Hebrew-learners called *Omer*, and on occasion takes a strongly anti-Cominform line. Nominated to a Mapai vacancy in the Knesset, February 1951, and re-elected 1951.

Mr. Berger is a slight little man with a wry neck and is pleasant with a rather shy sense of humour. He and his wife live in one of the poorest quarters

of Tel Aviv where Mrs. Berger, a doctor, is greatly beloved.

26. Berman, Dr. Adolf

Communist M.K. (1954).

Born in Warsaw in 1906. Educated in Poland and became a Doctor of Psychology. He is a brother of Jacob Berman, a leading Polish Communist. He was head of the Jewish Psycho-Technical Institute in Poland and a member of the Left Poalei Zion in Poland from 1925. He took a leading part in the Warsaw ghetto underground movement and after the Second World War became a member of the Polish parliament. In 1947 he became chairman of the Polish Central Jewish Committee and chairman of the Mapam Party in Poland. He settled in Israel in 1950 and became a member of the Mapam Central Committee. In July 1951 he was elected a member of the Second Knesset on the Mapam list. At the beginning of 1953 he collaborated with Sneh (q.v.) in setting up the "left faction" and at the end of January was expelled with Sneh from Mapam. In 1954 he formally joined the Communist Party.

27. Bernstein, Dr. Perets

Minister of Trade and Industry (1952) and leader of General Zionist Party (1943).

Born in 1890 at Meiningen (Germany). Studied at Meiningen University and Eisenach. Was in business in Germany and Holland, 1907-35. On the Executive of the Zionist Organisation of Holland from 1924 and its president in 1930-34. Came to Palestine in 1936, and founded the General Zionist paper *Haboker*. In 1937 he entered the Executive of the General Zionist Party. President of the party since 1943; unanimously re-elected in November 1949. He entered the Executive Committee of the Jewish Agency in 1946 and in 1947 became head of its trade and industry department. In 1948 he became member of the Provisional Council of State and entered the Provisional Government as Minister of Trade, Industry and Supply, with responsibility for war-time controls. Elected M.K., 1949, he declined to serve in the Government. Re-elected 1951. In November 1952, he was the General Zionist candidate for the presidency. A month later, when the General Zionists joined Mr. Ben-Gurion's Coalition Government, he became Minister of Trade and Industry. He has since steadily advocated the decontrol of foreign currency. He holds the same post in the coalition formed by Mr. Sharett in January, 1954.

Dr. Bernstein is regarded with the respect due to a senior statesman. A rather massive person, he speaks quietly and without rhetorical effects, but his authority (particularly on economic questions) is considerable.

28. Biran, Dr. Avraham

District Commissioner for Jerusalem (1948).

Born in 1909 at Petach Tikvah. Educated at Reali Intermediary School, Haifa, and Teacher's Seminary, Jerusalem. Graduated at John Hopkins University, Baltimore (M.A., Ph.D.).

From 1928 onwards worked as teacher in Haifa and Baltimore. Later held a fellowship at the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem, specialising in archaeology. Has participated in archaeological expeditions in Palestine, Syria, Transjordan and Iraq. In 1937 he entered the Palestine Government service as Cadet District Officer, Nazareth, and served as District Officer in various towns in northern Palestine. In 1946 he became District Officer in Jerusalem and at the end of the Mandate he entered the service of Israel as assistant Military Governor of the City. When military government ceased he became District Commissioner (or "Government Representative") for Jerusalem.

29. Burg, Dr. Shlomo Joseph

Minister of Posts (1952).

Born in Germany in 1909 and educated at the universities of Berlin and Leipzig (Ph.D.). He also undertook Jewish religious studies in Berlin and received a rabbinical diploma. Becoming a member of the religious pioneering movement, he joined the Palestine Office in Berlin and was active in Germany on behalf of Youth Aliyah. He came to Palestine in 1939 and entered the teaching profession in Tel Aviv. He is a leading member of Hapoel Hamizrachi, the religious Labour Party. Elected to the Knesset in 1949 on the religious bloc list, he became Deputy Speaker. He favoured the inclusion of his party within the Histadrut and emerged as one of the leaders of the "Lamifne" faction. Re-elected in 1951, he was appointed Minister of Health in Mr. Ben-Gurion's reconstituted coalition Government. When the General Zionists were included in the coalition in December 1952 he was given the Ministry of Posts, which he retained in Mr. Sharett's coalition formed in January 1954.

30. Chazan, Yaakov Arie

Mapam M.K. (1949).

Born in 1899 in Brest-Litovsk and educated in Poland. One of the founders of the Hashomer Hatzair movement in Poland and of its world organisation. Came to Palestine in 1923 and helped to found the kibbutz at Mishmar Ha'emek, where he still resides. Is on the Secretariat of the Hashomer Hatzair Federation (kibbutz Artzi). Member of the Zionist General Council and delegate to Zionist Congresses since 1928. Member of the Histadrut Executive Committee. Member of the Board of Directors of the Jewish National Fund. M.K., 1949. Re-elected 1951.

Mr. Chazan is one of the most active Mapam leaders and a pro-Soviet extremist though he remains a Zionist. He is given to immoderate statements and in a speech early in 1949 described Soviet Russia as his "second homeland." He is opposed to coalition with Mapai except on Mapam's own terms.

31. Cohen, Haim

Attorney-General (1950).

Born in 1911 at Lübeck (Germany). Studied at Universities of Munich, Hamburg and Frankfurt. Came to Palestine in 1933 and studied at the Hebrew University and Rabbinical College, Jerusalem. In private legal practice 1937-48. In 1948 he became secretary of the Jewish Agency's Legal Council and was engaged in legal work in preparation for independence. In June 1948, he entered the civil service as State Attorney and Director of the Department of Prosecution in the Ministry of Justice; he later became Director-General of the Ministry as well. Appointed Attorney-General, February 1950, and Minister of Justice June 1952, continuing to hold the office of Attorney-General as well. In December 1952 he had to give up the Ministry of Justice and his seat in the Cabinet to make way for the Progressive and General Zionist members, but he remains Attorney-General.

Mr. Cohen is a non-party man and is not a member of the Knesset.

32. Comay, Michael Saul

Israel Ambassador to Canada (1954).

Born in 1908 at Capetown. Educated in South Africa (B.A., LL.B.) and practised at the South African bar till 1940. Served with South African Forces, 1940-46, in the Western Desert and in Britain, in Military Intelligence (Captain) and Army Education (Major); twice mentioned in despatches. After the war he came to Palestine as special representative of the South African Zionist Federation and

entered the service of the Jewish Agency Political Department. Was attached to the Jewish delegation to the United Nations, 1947-48. He became Director of the British Commonwealth Division when the Ministry for Foreign Affairs was first established and in May 1952 Assistant Director-General in the Ministry, being responsible for the British Commonwealth, American and Western European Divisions. He was appointed the first Israel Minister to Canada in 1953 and became Ambassador there in August, 1954.

Mr. Comay is intelligent and able. He talks well and is outwardly friendly, but is a difficult and moody man who never relaxes. He is suspicious and critical of the United Kingdom (I have the impression that he is much influenced by the *New Statesman*), and is hypersensitive to criticism of Israel's policies. Formerly almost hostile, the prejudices of his wife (a vain woman) and himself have somewhat abated.

33. Dan, Hillel

Managing director, Solel Boneh.

Born in 1900 at Vilna. Veteran Commander of the Haganah. Has held a series of increasingly important administrative posts in the Histadrut and is now a member of its Executive. He helped to relaunch Solel Boneh after its 1922 bankruptcy and make it a success, and since 1935 he has been responsible for policy in all Histadrut industrial enterprises. He is a director of the Israel Mining Company, a Government concern formed to exploit minerals in the Negev, and a member of the Economic Advisory Council, as well as a director of the German Reparations Purchasing Company.

Mr. Dan is a dictatorial character, who inspires respect but also fear in his subordinates. Said to be ruthless but a man of this word. Hates paper work but has a remarkable memory for salient facts and figures. Speaks no English.

34. Dayan, Rav-Aloof (General) Moshe

Chief of Staff.

Born 1916 Degania (Galilee). Brought up at the co-operative settlement of Nahalal. His father, Shmuel Dayan, is a Mapai deputy, and his brother was killed in the Palestine War. Early associated with the Haganah and was a volunteer in Wingate's "night squads." Sentenced to ten years' imprisonment in 1939 for illegally engaging in secret military training, he was released in 1941 to join a scout unit formed to assist the British Army in Syria against the Vichy French. He lost his left eye in the fighting and now wears an eyeshield. In 1948-49 he commanded a Palmach Brigade and later was Military Commander of the Jerusalem area. He then headed the military section of the Israel mission at the armistice negotiations in Rhodes. On his return, was appointed chief Israel delegate to the four Mixed Armistice Commissions. Relinquished this appointment in November, 1949, becoming Regional Commander of the Southern Area with promotion to rank of Aloof. In October 1951 he relinquished this command and went to the United Kingdom for a course at the Senior Officers' School, Devizes. In May 1952 he was given command of the Northern Area and in December 1952 he went to G.H.Q. as Head of the General Staff Branch.

In December 1953 Dayan succeeded General Makleff as Chief of Staff of the Israel Defence Forces. He is no lover of administrative work and far prefers the field to his office. He inclines to the view that the Arab States best understand the language of force, and has been closely identified with the activist policy advocated by the former Prime Minister, Mr. David Ben-Gurion.

Dayan is pleasant and friendly, with a reputation as a talented negotiator. There are some signs

that he is becoming more moderate with responsibility. His wife received part of her education in England and is active in the encouragement of handicrafts among immigrants from North Africa.

35. Di-Nur, Professor Ben-Zion

Minister of Education and Culture (1951).

Born in the Ukraine in 1884. Educated at the universities of Berne and Berlin, the Institute of Jewish Studies in Berlin and the Yeshivot of Tels, Kovno and Wilna. Came to Palestine in 1921, and was on the staff of the Hebrew Teachers' Seminary at Beit Hakerem until 1948. Lecturer at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem from 1936-47 and in 1947 Professor of Modern Jewish History there, at the same time becoming Dean of the Faculty of Humanities and member of the university's executive council. A Mapai delegate to Zionist congresses and a member of the Jewish Community Council of Jerusalem, he was elected to the first Knesset in 1949 on the Mapai list. He was not re-elected in 1951, but on the formation of the new Cabinet in October 1951 became Minister of Education and Culture continuing as such in the Coalition Government formed in December 1952 and in the coalition formed by Mr. Sharett in January 1954.

36. Dobkin, Eliahu

Member of the Jewish Agency Executive (1933).

Born Bobruisk, Russia, in 1898. Educated at high school and Kharkov University. An active Zionist, he administered the emigration office in Warsaw from 1914-30. He came to Palestine in 1932 and was subsequently elected deputy member of the Jewish Agency Executive (1935) and director of the Agency's Immigration Department (1932). From 1932 on he was continuously concerned with the organisation of immigration. He was a delegate to all the Zionist congresses from 1921 on and in 1933 became a full member of the Zionist Executive. He was a Mapai member of the Provisional Council of State from 1948-49 and later became chairman of the Organisation Committee of the Zionist Executive and was in charge of the arrangements for the 23rd Zionist Congress in Jerusalem. In 1951 he was re-elected a Mapai member of the Zionist Executive and became head of the Youth and Immigration Department of the Agency and also of its Administrative Department. He is also a member of the Foundation Fund Executive.

Mr. Dobkin is a leading member of Mapai but has hitherto devoted himself to Jewish Agency affairs and eschewed domestic politics.

37. Dori, Rav-Aloof Yaakov

Former Chief of Staff. President of Haifa Institute of Technology (1951).

Born 1899 at Odessa. In Palestine since 1906. Studied at Reali School, Haifa. Served in the Jewish Legion 1918-21, becoming sergeant-major. Studied at University of Ghent, Belgium, 1922-26, graduating as civil engineer. 1926-29, served in technical department of Palestine Zionist Executive. Associated from the start with the Haganah, from 1929 onwards he was entirely engaged in its service, becoming head of its training department, and, from 1939, its Chief of Staff. In 1945-47 spent eighteen months in the United States. Emerged into the open as Haganah leader in May, 1948, and directed military operations throughout the Arab war. In November, 1949, he relinquished the post of Chief of Staff and went abroad on sick leave. On his return he was seconded to the Prime Minister's office (May, 1950) to act as Head of its Science Division, representing the Prime Minister in relations with various scientific bodies. In February 1951 he became president of the Haifa Institute of Technology (Technion), continuing part-time as head of the Scientific Division.

He also became chairman of the board of directors of the Israel Mining Company, a Government development organisation. In 1951 he was also appointed a Government director of the new Dead Sea potash company.

Rav-Aloof Dori is a man of broad culture and a good linguist who has spent much time in studying military literature and arranging for the production of military text books in Hebrew. A small bespectacled man, he looks more like a professor than a military commander, but he had experience of fighting in the Arab disturbances of 1921, 1929 and 1936-39. He has the reputation of being politically impartial, very hard working and personally modest. The reason given for his retirement from the army was weak health, and he undoubtedly suffers from an ulcerated stomach. But there were other reasons, among them his attachment to Haganah tradition and unadaptability to the needs of a modern army and his reluctance to weed out officers associated with Mapam.

38. Eban, Aba

Head of Israel Delegation to United Nations (1948) and Ambassador at Washington (1950).

Born in 1915 at Capetown of a Lithuanian Jewish family. Brought up in England and educated at Cambridge (1934-39), where he obtained a triple first in Arabic, Hebrew and Persian. Associated with the Zionist Movement from boyhood. Representative at the World Zionist Congress, Geneva, 1939. Commissioned in the British Forces, 1939, and sent to the Middle East as Chief Arab Censor at G.H.Q., Cairo, 1940. In 1942 he was appointed liaison officer with the Jewish Agency for special operations in the event of German occupation of Palestine. 1943, appointed Chief Instructor, Middle East Arab Centre, Jerusalem. 1946, head of the Jewish Agency's Information Department, London. Participated in the World Zionist Congress, Basle, 1946. Jewish Agency liaison officer with the United Nations Special Commission on Palestine, 1947. Went with the latter to New York, where he remained, assuming leadership of the Israel Delegation to the United Nations in July 1948. In May 1950 he was appointed to succeed Mr. Elath as ambassador in Washington, at the same time remaining Permanent Representative at the United Nations.

Mr. Eban, whose Hebrew name of Even has not become established, even in Israel, is highly intelligent. He is a very sharp controversialist in his official capacity and has been an eloquent though hardly conciliatory Israel spokesman at the United Nations. He is in the inner counsels of the Government on all foreign matters of importance. Like many leading Israelis he has too much on his shoulders.

39. Efrati Josef

Mapai Deputy (1949) and Deputy Minister of Agriculture (1951).

Born at Pinsk in 1897. Educated at an agricultural high school. Came to Palestine in 1914 and joined kibbutz Geva. Was a delegate to Zionist congresses and active in the organisation of agriculture within the Histadrut. He was elected a Mapai member of the Knesset in 1949 and again in 1951. In January 1951 he was appointed Deputy Minister of Agriculture.

40. Effer, Yaakov

Co-operative Manager.

Born in 1895 at Kishinev (Bessarabia). In Palestine since 1913. Manager of the Labour weekly *Hapoel Hatsair*, 1913-15. Starting as member of Degania communal settlement (1915-18), he made a career in the secretariat of the Agricultural Workers' Union and other labour associations, and became

secretary of the Histadrut Executive Committee and manager of the Workers' Sick Fund (Kupat Holim). Since 1931 he has been Chairman of the Union of Co-operative Consumers' Societies. Edited the fortnightly bulletin *Co-operative Economics*. In 1934 he represented Mapai at the International Co-operative Alliance congress in Manchester. Has also been a labour delegate at several Zionist Congresses. He is now managing director of Hamashbir Hamerkazi (the Histadrut's wholesale purchasing co-operative), a director of the Workers' Bank and of the Israel Fuel Corporation, member of the Economic Advisory Council, and a member of the Histadrut Executive Committee.

Manager of one of the most powerful economic concerns in the country, Mr. Effer is an influential supporter of Mapai, on whose list of candidates his name appeared (as a matter of form) at the 1949 elections. He speaks English and has had long and friendly relations with the management of the Co-operative Wholesale Society in the United Kingdom. A pleasant man of quiet demeanour.

41. Elath, Eliahu

Ambassador at London (1952).

Born in 1903 at Snovsk (Ukraine), son of a timber merchant. Graduated at a non-Jewish school and began studying medicine at Kiev but was imprisoned in 1922 for participation in a secret congress of the Zionist Youth Movement. In 1923, after a short period of underground Zionist activity in Moscow, he made his way to Danzig to participate in a world conference of Hechaluts (pioneers). Remained in the Baltic for a year, organising illegal emigration from Russia via Latvia to Palestine, where he settled himself in 1925. Worked as agricultural labourer (secretary of the Rehovoth Labour Council) and construction labourer in Transjordan. Fought as a Haganah commander during the Arab disturbances of 1929. Studied Arabic at the Hebrew University and the American University, Beirut (1928-34). In 1930 he was awarded a Rockefeller Foundation scholarship for the study of the Syrian bedouin. From 1931-34 was Reuter's representative in Beirut. On completion of his studies joined the political department of the Jewish Agency and from 1934-45 was head of its Middle and Near East Division. Travelled extensively in the area, including Persia and Turkey. From 1945 onwards the Agency employed him on various political missions in the United States, including the San Francisco conference. On the declaration of independence he became Israel diplomatic representative in Washington, his status being raised in February 1949 to that of Ambassador. Transferred to London as Minister in June 1950 and became Ambassador there in 1952.

Mr. Elath is a sociologist and orientalist and has written books on the Beduin (among whom he has lived) and on Lebanon and Transjordan. He is an extremely intelligent and likeable person who inspires confidence and gives an impression of honesty and straightforwardness as well as ability. His wife has similar qualities.

42. Eliashar, Eliahu

Deputy Mayor of Jerusalem (1951) and Sephardic M.K.

Born in 1899 at Jerusalem of an old established family of local landowners. Served in the Turkish Army 1915-18. Attended the French University in Beirut and the Jerusalem Law Classes and in 1922 entered the Palestine Government service. Was in charge of the Trade Section and Official Receiver of Companies and Bankruptcies; edited the Official Census of Industries Report (1927-29) and the Government Commercial Bulletin. Left the service in 1934 and has since engaged in business. Is a director of several important commercial and financial

companies and has been Managing Director of the Jerusalem Development Company and of Buildco, Ltd.

Mr. Eliashar was formerly on the Board of the Jerusalem Jewish Council, and became president of the Sephardic Community in Jerusalem. Elected to the Knesset in 1949, he became more openly critical of the Government. Finally, in May 1951, he had to resign leadership of the United Sephardim movement, of which he represented the wealthy Right-wing element. He was the first politician openly to propose in the Knesset (May 1950) that Israel should abandon neutrality and adopt a Western orientation. Has been deputy Mayor of Jerusalem since January 1951, and was re-elected to the Knesset in 1951 on the Sephardic and Oriental Communities list supporting the General Zionists. In November 1951 he was elected a vice-president of the World Federation of Sephardic Communities.

43. Eliashiv, Dr. Shmuel

Ambassador at Moscow (1954).

Born in 1899 in Pinsk of a distinguished rabbinical family. Educated at Kovno, Kharkov and Toulouse. An active Zionist since his earliest days and from 1929-46 a member of the Zionist Executive. He came to Palestine in 1934 and later became a member of the Secretariat of the Histadrut Executive.

In August 1948 he was appointed director of the Eastern European Department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. He was appointed minister to Prague and Budapest in April 1950 and was transferred to Moscow in February 1951 returning to Israel in February 1953 on the rupture of Israel-Soviet relations. His reappointment as Minister to Moscow on the resumption of diplomatic relations between the two countries was announced in August 1953. He became Ambassador there in 1954 when the Soviet and Israel Legations in Tel Aviv and Moscow respectively were raised to embassies.

Dr. Eliashiv is an unkempt and slightly lugubrious individual, studious and somewhat reserved. He knows Russian well and speaks English, though he is happier in French.

44. Erem, Moshe

Le'Achdut Avoda M.K. (1954).

Born in Russia in 1896. Educated at the universities of Leningrad and Moscow. Was from 1915-22 Commissar for Labour in the Soviet administration in Poland. He became one of the founders of the Poalei Zion Party and came to Palestine in 1924. He was a delegate to Zionist congresses and was a senior official in the Ministry of Minorities until its dissolution. He was also for a number of years a member of the Histadrut Executive. In politics he joined the Left Poalei Zion faction which merged with Hashomer Hatzair and Ahdut Avoda to form Mapam, and was elected a Mapam member of the Knesset in 1949 and re-elected in 1951. He took a prominent part in Peace Movement activities and on the occasion of Admiral Edelman's visit to Israel in 1951 he vigorously attacked the part the Royal Navy had played in preventing illegal immigration. He has consistently taken a stand with the extreme pro-Soviet members of his party. In 1951 he came into conflict with the Communist Party and was denounced by the Communist newspaper *Kol Ha'am* as a "veteran professional anti-Communist agitator" and as a "modern Titoist." In 1954 he left Mapam and became a member of the independent Le'Achdut Avoda Party.

45. Eshkol, Levi

Minister of Finance (1952).

Born in 1895 at Ortowo (Ukraine). Received a high school and religious education at Vilna and

came to Palestine in 1914. In 1918 he served in the Jewish Legion. He then participated in the foundation (1920) of two communal settlements (Degania "B" and Kiryat Anavim) and the small-holders' settlement of Ataroth (1922). Always associated with agricultural enterprise and author of numerous articles on colonisation, in 1935 he became a director of "Nir," the Histadrut agricultural credit institution, and a member of the Histadrut's Central Agricultural Council. Founder and manager of the "Mekorot" water company (1937). Became a director of the Workers' Bank and of the public works and housing corporations "Bizur" and "Amidar."

In 1948 Mr. Eshkol served for a time as one of the three "Assistants to the Minister of Defence" in the Provisional Government. A member of the Zionist General Council and Jewish Agency Executive, he became Director of the Agency's Agricultural Settlement Department. In October 1949 he was appointed acting treasurer of the Agency and was confirmed in that post by the Executive Plenary in January 1950.

In 1951 he was elected to the Knesset on the Mapai list. He continued as treasurer and head of the Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency, but in October 1951 he became Minister of Agriculture and Development as well. In June 1952 he succeeded Kaplan as Minister of Finance. He subsequently gave up his post as Jewish Agency Treasurer, but remained in charge of the Agency's Settlement Department and continued as a member of the Agency's Executive. He remained Minister of Finance in the coalition formed by Mr. Sharett in January 1954.

Mr. Eshkol is a leading member of the Government and on several occasions acted as Prime Minister in the absence of the former Premier, Mr. Ben-Gurion.

46. Eytan, Walter George

Director-General of Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1949).

Born in 1910 at Munich. Went to England as a boy. Naturalised British subject, 1926. Educated at St. Paul's School, London, and Queen's College, Oxford. Was lecturer on German philology at the latter, 1936-46. Joined the Royal Armoured Corps 1939. Transferred in 1940 to Naval Intelligence in which he served till the end of hostilities. 1946, settled in Palestine and till 1948 directed the Jewish Agency's Public Services College. May, 1948, appointed Director-General (Permanent Under-Secretary) of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Headed the Israel delegation to the armistice negotiations at Rhodes, 1948-49. Paid an official visit to India, 1952. He retains his interest in improving the quality of Israel's Civil Service and is chairman of the Public Commission for Civil Service Examinations.

Mr. Eytan is a highly intelligent and cultured person with moderate views though beneath his donnish exterior he is a fanatical Zionist. He has the reputation of being a good organiser. Since Mr. Sharett became Prime Minister, he has exercised greater influence over the direction of Israel's foreign policy.

47. Foerder, Dr. Yeshayahu

Progressive M.K. (1949).

Born in Germany 1901. Educated at the universities of Königsberg, Heidelberg and Freiberg. Was in practice as a lawyer in Berlin and secretary of the Zionist organisation in Germany. Came to Palestine in 1933 and was active in organising the settlement of middle-class immigrants. Was a delegate to Zionist congresses and was one of the founders of "Rassco," a company providing housing for

immigrants. He was Food Controller from 1948-49. In 1949 he was elected to the Knesset on the Progressive list and was re-elected in 1951. He is a member of the advisory council to the Investments Centre and in November 1952 became chairman of the Public Advisory Council for reparations from Germany.

Dr. Foerder is pro-British, friendly and extremely intelligent and is the brains of the Progressive Party.

48. Galili, Israel

Le'Achdut Avoda member.

Born in 1907 in Jaffa and received a secondary education in Palestine. Active in the Haganah from early youth, he was second-in-command of its underground forces and acted as its Commander-in-Chief during the first months of the Arab war in 1948. For a time he served as one of three "Assistants to the Minister of Defence" in the Provisional Government, but quarrelled with Mr. Ben-Gurion over the spirit and organisation of the Army and the rôle of Palmach in it, and was dropped. He was a Mapam member of the Knesset from 1949-51. Though bitter about the Army Mr. Galili showed himself conciliatory on other questions debated by Mapam and Mapai. In the winter of 1949-50 he was active in the negotiations between the two parties and led the Mapam minority group which wished to continue them. Though opposing the Israel Government's stand over Korea and the secession of the Histadrut from the World Federation of Trade Unions, he emerged as a leader of the less extreme wing of Mapam, who opposed the out-and-out pro-Communist stand of Hashomer Hatzair. In June 1951 he was still a member of the Mapam Central Committee of five, but, probably as the result of disagreements with the extremists, he was placed last on the Mapam list for the 1951 elections, with no hope of re-election. In April 1952 the struggle between him and the extreme pro-Soviet group came to a head, and he was forced to resign from the Mapam Central Committee and from all other party committees. In 1954 he left the party with other members of the Le'Achdut Avoda faction, of which he is a leading member.

Mr. Galili is a resident member of the mixed kibbutz at Na'an, which he helped to found (1930), and Chairman of the Regional Council in which it is comprised. He is a forceful speaker, but lacks education. He visited the United Kingdom in 1954 under the auspices of the British Council.

49. Givli, Aloof Mishne (Colonel) Benjamin

Director of Intelligence, Israel Defence Forces.

Colonel Givli was born in Israel in 1919 and was an enthusiastic member of the Haganah up to the end of the Mandate. A year at Princeton University in 1953, followed by a three months' military course in the United Kingdom, greatly improved his English, the lack of which had previously made him seem shy, retiring and studious. On the contrary he now appears to be fanatical and aggressive, and a staunch supporter of drastic methods for dealing with Israel's Arab neighbours.

He is hard-working, intelligent, probably ruthless, and rather lacking in a sense of humour.

50. Goldstein, Dr. Sydney

Scientist.

Born in 1903 at Hull, Yorkshire. Studied at Leeds and Cambridge (M.A., Ph.D. (1928)). Spent a year as a Rockefeller Research Fellow at the University of Goettingen and then worked at Manchester and Cambridge Universities. At Manchester, where he lectured in applied mathematics, he built up a school of fluid mechanics which has been described as "unsurpassed in Europe." At Cambridge he became a Fellow of St. John's. During the Second

World War he worked on aeronautics at the National Physical Laboratory. He became chairman of the British Council for Aeronautical Research and a Fellow of the Royal Society.

In 1950 Dr. Goldstein came to Israel and began building up from nothing a Department of Aeronautical Engineering at the Haifa Institute of Technology with American funds. In 1951 he became vice-president of the institute. In June 1954 he left for Harvard University to spend a year as visiting professor.

Dr. Goldstein is one of the few Anglo-Saxon Jews who have thrown up distinguished careers to help build up the Jewish State. He is a strong, forceful personality. His wife is a South African and a physicist.

51. Granoff, Dr. Abraham

Chairman of the Jewish National Fund.

Born in 1890 at Falesti (Bessarabia). Studied law and economics at Universities of Freiburg and Lausanne (Doctor of Law). Joined the staff of the Jewish National Fund in Holland, 1919; appointed its managing director, 1925; elected member (1934) and Chairman (1945) of its Board of Directors. In Palestine since 1922. Author of several books on Palestine land problems on which he is the leading authority. Director or chairman of various development, settlement and water companies. Member of the Executive Council of the Hebrew University and president of two important cultural foundations.

In the Provisional Council of State (1948-49) Mr. Granoff was one of the six representatives of the General Zionists, but he left them at the foundation of the Progressive Party, of which he was elected M.K. (1949). He was not very active in the Knesset. He was at one time Chairman of the Finance Committee, but devoted himself mainly to the National Fund (Keren Kayemet), of which he is now chairman. In 1951 he was elected to the Second Knesset on the Progressive list, but resigned this seat two months later.

52. Grossman, Meir

Economist.

Born in Russia in 1888. Studied in St. Petersburg and Berlin Universities. In 1905 he started to participate in Jewish public activities and launched a long journalistic career. During the first World War he joined Jabotinsky in his fight to acquire the right to set up Jewish battalions. After the war he founded, in London, the Jewish Information Bureau. With the establishment of the State he headed the Economic Department of the Jewish Agency. He recently joined the General Zionists and writes regularly in Hebrew in the world Jewish press.

Dr. Grossman is an affable man and is well disposed towards Britain. His son studied in England and his daughter is married to the Israel Consul in San Francisco.

53. Habibi, Emile

Arab Communist Deputy (1951).

Born at Haifa in 1921. Educated at secondary school. Became a journalist and editor of the Communist paper *Al Ittihad*, being prominent in Communist activities in Palestine. He was fifth on the Communist list at the 1949 elections but was unsuccessful, and first entered the Knesset at the 1951 elections. He appears to be a member of the Communist Central Committee and director of the party educational courses. He is prominent in "Peace Movement" activities and has attended peace congresses at Tunis, Berlin and Vienna. He paid a brief visit to the United Kingdom in 1954 to attend a conference of the British Communist Party.

54. Hacohen, David

Mapai M.K. (1949). Israel Minister to Burma (1953).

Born in 1898 at Homel (White Russia). His father, a distinguished Hebrew writer and founder of co-operative financial institutions, brought him to Palestine as a boy (1907). Educated at Herzliya Gymnasium in Tel Aviv and the military school, Istanbul. Served as a Turkish Army officer in the First World War. Studied at the London School of Economics. A founder of Solel Boneh (1924) and now managing director of it and various other associated companies of the Histadrut and Chairman of the Zim Shipping Company. Became Municipal Councillor, Haifa, in 1927 and was Deputy Mayor from 1948-51. Has been member of the Jewish Elected Assembly and the Histadrut General Council. During the Arab rebellion he was associated with Brigadier Wingate in the organisation of the "Night Squads." During the Second World War he collaborated with the Ministry of Economic Welfare in organising pro-Allied broadcasts to Syria and supplied Solel Boneh personnel for work with the British Forces outside Palestine. An important member of the Haganah and believed responsible for its sapper work, in 1946 he was among the Zionist leaders detained at Latrun. Elected M.K. (Mapai) in 1949 and re-elected to Second Knesset in 1951, he became a member of Mapai's Steering Committee and of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Security Committee. He was an alternate delegate to the 1951 United Nations General Assembly and took a prominent part in Inter-parliamentary Union activities. In July 1953 he accepted, somewhat reluctantly, the post of first Israel Minister to Burma. He has, nevertheless, thrown himself wholeheartedly into his work and has in a short time built up close and apparently friendly ties between the two countries; he also travels a good deal in the other countries of South-East Asia. In 1954 he again attended the United Nations General Assembly as a member of the Israel Delegation.

Mr. Hacohen is an energetic and forceful man. A very successful business manager, he behaves more like a typical company director than a trade unionist. His wife (née Bracha Habas, which is still her *nom de plume*) is a prominent journalist and Mapai intellectual.

55. Hakim, Mgr. George

Greek Catholic Archbishop of Acre, Haifa, Nazareth and Galilee.

Born at Tanta, Egypt, in 1908. Educated at the Jesuit College at Cairo and St. Anne's Seminary, Jerusalem. Ordained priest in 1930, he taught at the Patriarchal School in Beirut and then became moderator and subsequently principal of the Patriarchal School at Cairo. He made a great success of this post. In Egypt he published a French periodical called *Le Lien* and he also founded an Arabic periodical called *Ar-Rabita (The Link)* which is published in Haifa and is the organ of the Greek Catholics in Israel.

In 1943 he came to Haifa as Archbishop. Though at first opposed to the founding of the Jewish State, he has found a *modus vivendi* with the Israel authorities and is allowed to pay visits to Beirut and the Old City of Jerusalem on Church and refugee business. He is anti-Communist, and his activities among the Arab population in Israel have brought him into violent conflict with the Communist Party. Hakim regards himself as the unofficial leader of the Arab minority in Israel.

56. Harari, Izhar

Progressive Deputy (1949).

Born in 1908 at Jaffa. Educated at the Herzliya Gymnasium at Tel-Aviv, the Sorbonne, the Law

School in Jerusalem and the London School of Economics. He also studied at the School of Journalism in Paris. From 1934 he was in private legal practice and in 1938 he became legal adviser to some municipal councils. He was a delegate to Zionist Congresses and a member of the Zionist Actions Committee and of the Central Committee of the Israel Bar Association. In 1948 he joined the Israel army and was appointed vice-president of the Military High Court with the rank of Sgan-Aloof (Lieut.-Colonel). He retired from the army after his election to the Knesset in 1949, where he became chairman of the House Committee and made a considerable contribution to the determining of parliamentary procedure. He was re-elected in 1951. He is one of the leading legal experts in the Knesset and plays an active part in debates. He has advocated the unification of education and the passing of a series of fundamental laws to be eventually combined in one constitution. In July 1950 he was a member of the parliamentary delegation to the United Kingdom. In 1953 he was offered the post of first Israel Minister to Canada but turned it down.

57. Heftman, Joseph Chaim

Journalist.

Born in 1888 at Briansk (Russia). Religious education. Worked as editor and member of editorial board of various Hebrew and Yiddish papers abroad. Was on the Executive Council of Jews of Poland. In Palestine since 1934. Editor of the Hebrew daily newspaper *Haboker* (General Zionist) and President of the Jewish Journalists' Association in Israel, he became in 1952 chairman of the General Zionist Party executive. Member of the Zionist General Council. A prolific writer. In the autumn of 1950 he was one of a group of journalists who paid an official visit to the United Kingdom.

Mr. Heftman is a courteous and friendly person. But he is old for his years and situations are apt to escape from his control.

58. Herzog, Yitzhak

Chief Rabbi of the Ashkenazim (1936).

Born at Rodvilski in 1888. Educated at Leeds University (M.A.), and is a D.Litt. of London University. Also studied at the Sorbonne and Ecole des Langues Orientales, Paris. Became a Rabbi in 1910. Was Rabbi of Belfast (1916) and Chief Rabbi of the Irish Free State (1925). Chief Rabbi of the Ashkenazi Community in Palestine since 1936, resident in Jerusalem. Member of various learned societies and author of numerous books and studies.

A venerable-looking figure in a top hat, Dr. Herzog appears on all national occasions among the leaders of Israel. He is not much consulted by them but wields considerable indirect influence through the religious party in the Knesset. His fierce opposition to the Women's Conscription Amendments introduced by Mr. Ben-Gurion in the spring of 1951 and again in 1953 produced direct conflict between the Rabbinate and Mapai, but on other occasions he has usually managed to keep clear of politics. He has the reputation of being sincerely anglophile. A man of great learning and considerable acumen.

59. Hoofien, Eliezer Siegfried, M.B.E.

Banker.

Born in 1881 at Utrecht. Attended Amsterdam Commercial College and entered a private banking firm at Amsterdam (1899). Public Accountant, Amsterdam (1903-09). Director of the Zionist Central Office, Cologne (1909-12). Came to Palestine in 1912 and entered the Anglo-Palestine Bank (now the Bank Leumi le Israel): assistant general manager (1912), joint general manager (1919), general manager (1924-47), chairman of the board of directors since 1947. Honorary president of the

Tel Aviv-Jaffa Chamber of Commerce. Chairman and managing director of the General Mortgage Bank and chairman of the Mortgage Bank. In 1948 he was appointed economic co-ordinator attached to the Prime Minister's Office. On the establishment of the State Bank in December 1954, he was appointed chairman of the Advisory Council and the Advisory Committee.

He is a strong personality, influential and respected. He has on several occasions publicly urged drastic reductions in Israel's standard of living to enable her to balance her payments, and has attacked the Prime Minister and the Government for failing to take the necessary measures to avert economic collapse.

60. Horowitz, David

Governor of the State Bank.

Born 1899 at Drohobycz (Galicia). Educated at Lwow and Vienna. Came to Palestine in 1919. Took part in land reclamation, Nahalal (1921). Member, Histadrut Council (1920) and Executive Council (1923). Author of books on economic and political subjects. Economic adviser to the American Economic Committee for Palestine (1932-35). Economic Adviser to the Treasury of the Jewish Agency, Director of its Economic Department and Co-Director of its Economic Research Institute (1935-48). Lecturer at the High School for Law and Economics, Tel Aviv. Was member of various Government committees of the mandatory régime, including the Standing Committee for Commerce and Industry and the Textile Advisory Board. Appeared as economic expert before the Royal Commission of 1937, the Anglo-American Commission of 1946 and the United Nations Commission of 1947. Was attached to the latter as liaison officer and followed it to Lake Success as member of the Jewish Delegation. Director-General of the Ministry of Finance from May 1948 until June 1952, and from 1950-52 was also Economic Adviser to the Government. In March 1953 he was appointed first director of the new State Bank and put in charge of the preparatory work. A month later he also became chairman of the Foreign Currency Board. He became Governor of the State Bank when it opened on December 1, 1954. A director of Histadrut workers' housing companies, of a South African group of companies and other enterprises.

Mr. Horowitz is a man of unusual energy and intelligence and for four years dominated the Ministry of Finance. He had all the strings of financial and economic policy in his hands. He is an able and skilful negotiator, and played the leading Israel part in the conclusion of the Anglo-Israel financial agreement of March 1950 concerning the liquidation of the Mandate, and the negotiations for the release of Israel's sterling balances, and the unsuccessful negotiations for sterling credits for the purchase of oil in 1952.

He did not see eye to eye with Mr. Ben-Gurion and resigned his office as soon as Mr. Kaplan left the Ministry of Finance. Until 1952 he carried the main burden of keeping Israel solvent, and the strain told on him heavily.

61. Hushi, Aba

Mayor of Haifa (1951).

Born 1898 in Poland and educated there. Came to Palestine in 1920 and first worked as a labourer in Haifa port and in the settlements. Later occupied various positions in the Haifa Labour Council and became its secretary. He was one of the founders of the Palestine Labour Union.

In due course he became a member of the Histadrut Executive and of the management of Solel Boneh. In 1949, as a member of Mapai, he was elected to the Knesset, and remained a member until January 1951, when he was elected Mayor of Haifa.

A man of great energy, Mr. Hushi is dictatorial and ruthless but unquestionably able. He has great plans for the improvement of Haifa and is throwing himself wholeheartedly into them. He has for long enjoyed good relations with Arabs and advocated solidarity between Jewish and Arab labour.

62. Hyman, Zemach

Israel Minister to South Africa (1951).

Born in London in 1889, the son of an East-End Rabbi. He and his wife met when they were medical students. He served in Palestine during the First World War in the Jewish Legion and settled in the country in 1922, joining the staff of Barclays Bank (D.C. & O.) and becoming manager of its Western Jerusalem branch. He was appointed Economic Counsellor in Washington in 1950 and transferred to South Africa as Minister at the end of 1951. He has three children.

63. Izakson, Zvi

Chairman of the board of directors of the Pardess Syndicate Co-operative Society.

Born in Minsk in 1888, he came to Palestine as a child. Studied at the Mikve Israel Agricultural School near Tel Aviv and also in Turkey. During the first World War he lived in the United States and took part in all local and Zionist activities. He returned to Palestine in 1920 and settled in Jerusalem, where he founded a carpet factory. In 1926 he planted an orange grove in Petah Tikva, and from then on started to devote himself to citrus planting and its marketing. In 1932 he moved to Tel Aviv, at which time he became a leading figure in the Farmers' Association; he is one of those responsible for the setting up of the Palestine Citrus Marketing Board. He is very active in communal affairs, is a member of the Executive Committee of the General Zionist Organisation, and president and chairman of various companies and organisations, e.g., president, Farmers' Federation of Israel; chairman, board of directors, Pardess Syndicate Co-operative Society, (Limited) (dealing in citrus); chairman of the Jewish Farmers' Company (Limited); director of Marine Trust Company (Limited). He was a member of Israel's Citrus Marketing Delegation to England and Europe in the years 1949-51.

His son, also named Zvi, is actively engaged in the shipping arrangements of the Citrus Marketing Board.

64. Joseph, Dr. Dov (Bernard)

Minister for Development (1953).

Born in 1899 at Montreal. Studied law at London and McGill Universities (Ph.D., LL.B.). Was President of the "Young Judea" organisation in Canada. Came to Palestine in 1921. Was in private legal practice in Jerusalem and for several years served as legal adviser and Deputy Head of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency, for which he went on special missions to the United States, United Kingdom, Canada and South Africa. Member of its Executive, 1945-48. One of the Jewish leaders detained at Latrun in 1946. Originally a Revisionist, he joined Mapai in 1933. In 1948 he became Military Governor of Jewish Jerusalem and successfully organised essential supplies during the siege. Elected Mapai M.K., 1949, and appointed Minister of Supply and Rationing, he succeeded, despite much public grumbling, in applying an "austerity" programme of rationing and price control which did much to stem inflation. He was also "temporarily" Minister of Agriculture.

In the Cabinet reshuffle of October 1950, which was largely occasioned by criticism of his handling of economic controls, he took over the Ministry of

Communications. Re-elected to the Second Knesset in 1951, he became Minister of Trade and Industry and also Minister of Justice in Mr. Ben-Gurion's reconstituted coalition Government. In the Government reorganisation of June 1952 he was relieved of the Ministry of Justice, but continued as Minister of Trade and Industry. On the entry of the General Zionists into the coalition in December 1952, he had to give up the Ministry of Trade and Industry to them but retained his seat in the Cabinet. In June 1953 he was appointed Minister for Development, which post he retained on the formation of the coalition by Mr. Sharett in January 1954.

Dr. Joseph has a rather mild and unimpressive exterior, but is endowed with considerable courage and intelligence. By family connexions and personal inclination he is anglophile. His wife also is Canadian born. A daughter was killed in the Palestine War in 1948.

65. Josephthal, Dr. Giora

Treasurer of the Jewish Agency.

Born at Nuremberg in 1912. A leading member of the Jewish Agency Executive, he was for a number of years head of the Absorption Department of the Jewish Agency and in 1952 succeeded Eshkol as treasurer. He is a member of kibbutz Gal-Ed, near Haifa. A leading member of Mapai, he was in August 1951 re-elected to the Zionist Executive as a Mapai member. In March 1952 he was a member of the Israel delegation which negotiated with representatives of Western Germany for the payment of reparations. Two months later he was offered the Ministry of Finance by Mr. Ben-Gurion but refused it. In October 1952 he was appointed chairman of the German Reparations Purchasing Company.

66. Kariv, Itzhak

Mayor of Jerusalem (1952).

Born at Pabianice in Poland in 1903. Received an orthodox education. Came to Palestine in 1924 and worked for four years in the Poalei Mizrachi movement. Joined the Mizrahi Bank and became its Jerusalem manager. In 1951 he became a Municipal Councillor in Jerusalem and in 1952 was elected Mayor, representing the Right-wing orthodox coalition majority. He is married and has three children.

Mr. Kariv has not been a success as Mayor of Jerusalem but he took over the municipality when it was in such a chaotic state and so hamstrung by lack of funds and by dissensions in the Municipal Council that it is doubtful whether any man could have done much better.

67. Klebanoff, Yaakov

General Zionist M.K. (1949) and a Deputy Speaker of the Knesset (1953).

Born in Russia in 1887 and educated at Russian, German and Swiss Universities. Edited a Zionist weekly in Russian from 1907 to 1920 and was secretary of the Zionist Organisation in Russia from 1913-17 and later a member of its Central Committee. Came to Palestine in 1921 and has since been in private legal practice. He is a member of the Central Committee of the Bar Association. He has been a General Zionist member of the Knesset since 1949 and has attended meetings of the Inter-Parliamentary Union abroad. In 1953 he was elected one of the Deputy Speakers of the Knesset.

Mr. Klebanoff is pleasant and agreeable and speaks good English.

68. Kidron, Mordechai

Diplomat. Deputy to permanent Israel delegate to United Nations (August 1953).

Born in South Africa and served in Second World War in South African Air Force and Infantry.

Came to Palestine after the war and studied at the Hebrew University. During the siege of Jerusalem he was military governor of the southern part of the city. After the Palestine war he joined the staff of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and was sent abroad on several missions. He became in 1949 first secretary and in 1950 counsellor at the Israel Legation in London and in 1951 returned to the Ministry as head of the International Relations Division.

Mr. Kidron has an almost exaggeratedly English manner, but cannot be relied on as pro-British on that account. He is efficient and quick. His wife is Italian, and pleasant.

69. Kohn, Dr. Yehuda Pinhas (Leo)

Political Adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1948) and to the President.

Born Frankfurt-am-Main in 1894. Educated at the universities of Strasbourg, Berlin and Heidelberg (Doctor of Law). Secretary of the Central Office of the World Zionist Organisation, London, 1919-23. Secretary of the Hebrew University Committee in London from 1924-25 and of the Board of Governors of the university from 1925-31. Fellow of the Rockefeller Foundation 1931-33, during which time he wrote a book on the Irish Constitution. Secretary of the Political Committee of the Jewish Agency 1934-48. In 1948 he became political adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He has served with successive Israel delegations to United Nations General Assemblies and in 1948 he produced a draft constitution for Israel, which has never been adopted. He is one of the Government representatives on the Executive Council of the Hebrew University.

Dr. Kohn is a charming and scholarly man of conservative views, but does not appear to wield or to wish to wield very great power within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

70. Kol, Moshe

Member of the Zionist Executive (1937).

Born at Pinsk in 1911. Educated there and at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, having come to Palestine in 1932. Always an active Zionist, he was one of the founders of the General Zionist Organisation in Palestine. He was appointed to the Zionist Executive in 1937 and was first chairman of the Central General Labour Office in Israel. He was a member of the Provisional Government from May 1948 until February 1949, but since 1949 has concerned himself almost exclusively with Jewish Agency affairs, being in charge of Youth Aliyah, and with the organisation of Jewish appeals. In 1949 he was one of the General Zionists who formed the Progressive Party and was third on the party's electoral list, but did not take his seat. In July 1951 he was again elected, but resigned two months later, when he became Deputy Treasurer of the new Jewish Agency Executive and again head of the Youth Aliyah Department of the Agency. He still sits in the Zionist Executive as a General Zionist.

71. Kollek, Theodore (Teddy)

Head of the Prime Minister's Office (1952).

Born at Vienna in 1911. A member of kibbutz Ein Gev. He acted as Haganah envoy to the United States before the end of the Mandate and was a leading Haganah intelligence officer, and was also active in the Zionist cause in England as a member of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency. In 1950 he became head of the North American Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1950 also he acted as secretary to the conference of American Jewish leaders in Jerusalem and at the end of the year was appointed Minister at the Israel Embassy at Washington to supervise fund-raising

activities. In 1952 he was released to go to Harvard, but a month later was recalled to Israel and was appointed head of the Prime Minister's Office. He remained in this post when Mr. Sharett succeeded Mr. Ben-Gurion.

Although known to be one of Mr. Ben-Gurion's trusted lieutenants, he also appears to have the confidence of Mr. Sharett. He speaks good English and is frank, forthcoming and intelligent, but has as yet little administrative experience. A coming man.

72. Kosloff, Israel R.

Fuel Adviser to the Government.

Born in 1920 in Jerusalem. From 1939 to 1946 he studied at the University of Chicago, from which he obtained degrees in economics. From 1944 to 1946 was employed by the Standard Oil Company of Indiana. He then returned to Jerusalem to take up an appointment with the Palestine Economic Corporation. In 1947 he paid a second visit to the United States and was employed by the Richfield Oil Company of Los Angeles. In 1949 he returned to Israel and entered Government service as an expert on oil matters, later receiving the appointment of Fuel Adviser and Petroleum Commissioner.

Mr. Kosloff has an excellent brain and is a hard worker. He has acquired considerable experience in the technique of negotiation, having represented his country's interests at discussions in London, Washington, Moscow and other European capitals. Inclined to a certain vanity and to a hot temper which can temporarily cloud his judgment, he is apt also to irritate people by his tactics of playing off one party against another. He does not enjoy the confidence of the foreign oil companies.

Mr. Kosloff's wife is the daughter of the late Mr. Max W. Ball, oil geologist in Washington, who has devoted a good deal of study to the oil and mineral resources in the Near East.

73. Laskov, Aloof (Brigadier) Chaim

Ex-Commander of the Air Force.

Born in Russia in 1919. Came to Palestine as a child and was educated at the Reali School at Haifa. He served in the Haganah as a young man and from 1936-37 was a member of Wingate's night squads. From 1941-46 he saw much active service in the British Army, reaching the rank of major. He joined the Israel Army in 1948 and became a staff officer, a battalion commander and later a brigade commander. In August 1948 he became Director of Training, a post which he held for over three years, during which time he wrote some of the army textbooks. He paid an official visit to the United Kingdom in 1951 and in August of that year was appointed Commander of the Air Force. He was removed from this command in May 1953, after differences with General Makleff, and has gone to study in England. Brigadier Laskov speaks English, German and Arabic in addition to Hebrew.

Of all the senior officers in the Israel armed services Brigadier Laskov is the most outspokenly pro-British and has a great admiration for British service methods. He is direct and forceful and has the reputation of being an extremely hard worker. He has great powers of organisation, personality and drive.

74. Lavon, Pinhas

Minister of Defence (1954).

Born 1904 at Kopyczunice in Poland. Studied law at Lwow University. A founder of the Gordonia Youth Movement, he came to Palestine in 1929 and with its first pioneers participated in the foundation of Hulda communal settlement, of which he is still a member. Active in foundation and enlargement of the federation of Mapai communal villages (Hever

Hakvutsoth). Served in the secretariat of Mapai 1935-37, and has been on its Executive Committee since 1943. Member of the Histadrut Executive since 1944 and secretary-general from July 1949 to October 1950. Chairman of the Solel Boneh Council and member of the Zionist General Council. Mapai M.K., 1949. Took a leading part in efforts made at the beginning of 1950 to bring Mapam into the Government. Led a Knesset delegation to the United Kingdom in July 1950. In October 1950 he became Minister of Agriculture, a post he held till October 1951, when he left the Government as a result of differences with his colleagues over the priority to be given to foreign currency allocations for food imports. Re-elected to second Knesset, 1951.

In 1952 he was made Minister without Portfolio and on several occasions acted as Minister of Defence in the absence of Mr. Ben-Gurion. On the latter's resignation as Prime Minister in December 1953, he again served as acting Minister of Defence and was confirmed as Minister in Mr. Sharett's Government.

Mr. Lavon is one of Mapai's outstanding figures. He is a close associate of Mr. Ben-Gurion and is regarded as one of the leading exponents of an activist policy in Israel's relations with the Arab world. Although for the present he seems prepared to accept the more moderate and cautious approach of Mr. Sharett, it would be unwise to assume that he has changed his opinions. Mr. Lavon is a forceful speaker, and dogmatic in argument.

75. Levanon, Chaim

Mayor of Tel Aviv (1953).

Born in 1899 in Cracow, Galicia. Educated at a Yeshiva and at Cracow University. After the first world war he entered an engineering college and was one of the founders of the Mazrachi Youth Movement. He went to an agricultural training farm for Zionist pioneers and in 1927 he came to Israel and settled in Petah Tiqva, becoming a teacher. He was a founder of the General Zionist Youth Movement and Secretary-General of the party in his area. In 1931 he became Secretary-General of the whole party, travelling abroad frequently on party missions. He was one of the founders and directors of the party newspaper *Haboker*. After 1939 he established and became secretary of the General Zionist Workers Association. In 1951 he was elected a councillor and subsequently Deputy Mayor of Tel Aviv. In December 1952 he became Acting Mayor when Mr. Rokach became Minister of the Interior, and in April 1953 he was elected Mayor.

76. Levavi, Arie

Diplomat.

Born at Vilna in 1912. On joining the Israel Foreign Service he was posted to the Israel Legation in Moscow, returning to the Ministry in 1950 on his appointment as head of the Eastern European Division. In May 1952, on the reorganisation of the Ministry, he became Assistant Director-General in charge of the Eastern Europe and Mediterranean areas. In 1954 he was appointed Israel Minister to Yugoslavia.

77. Levin, Rabbi Yitzhak Meir

Agudat Israel M.K. (1949).

Born 1894 at Gur (Poland), the son of a Rabbi. After an ultra-religious education he helped to found and later presided over the Polish branch of the World Agudath Israel. Served as representative of Orthodox Jewry in the Warsaw Community Council and was for many years a member of the Polish Sejm. He frequently visited Palestine and, though opposed to political Zionism, did much to propagate the idea of immigration in orthodox circles.

Settling in Palestine in 1940, Rabbi Levin, as a leading member of the Palestine Agudists, went on several missions to the United States and later became Chairman of the World Executive of the Agudath Israel. He was one of the organisers of the "Rescue Committee" for European Jewry. When in May, 1948, the Agudists ceased posing as "non-political" and agreed to participate in the Government of the new State, Rabbi Levin entered the Provisional Government as Minister of Social Welfare. Later in the year his party combined with the Mizrahi groups to form the United Religious Front and he retained the Social Welfare portfolio after the 1949 and 1951 elections, in both of which he was returned to the Knesset at the head of the Agudat Israel list. He ceased to be a Minister when the Agudist parties left the Government in September 1952.

A small bespectacled man with a large beard, wearing a long black coat and skull cap, Rabbi Levin cuts a very rabbinical figure. He is given to making scenes over questions of religious observance, equality of rights for religious Jews and so on. But like many ultra-orthodox Jews he combines reactionary obscurantism with shrewd business capacity.

78. Limon, Aloof (Commodore) Mordechai

Former Commander of the Navy (1950).

Born in 1924 at Baranowicze. Commodore Limon has been concerned with naval affairs since 1942, when he enlisted in the naval branch of the Palmach. He ran training courses for the Palmach at Caesarea and later served in Norwegian and American merchant ships. In 1945 he was put in charge of an organisation, which proved abortive, for the organisation of Jewish immigration from Egypt. He then entered France with false documents and was active in organising illegal immigration into Palestine. In the Arab War he first served as navigator of an aircraft bringing arms and supplies from Europe and then, returning to the navy, took part in various engagements against the Egyptians. He became Chief of Naval Operations, and in December 1950 was made an acting Aloof and appointed Commander of the Navy. He paid an official visit to the United Kingdom in 1951. In 1954 he was succeeded as Commander of the Navy by Aloof Mishne Tankus and is at present studying in an American university.

Limon has a quiet reserved manner and speaks good English. He was respected by members of his Service but is not an outstanding personality.

79. Livneh, Eliezer

Mapai M.K. (1949).

Born 1902 at Lodz (Poland). Educated at a secondary school in Germany and privately in Germany and England. Came to Palestine in 1920 and became a member of kibbutz Ein Harod. Visited Germany from 1929 to 1931 and on return to Palestine joined Mapai. In 1935-36 he was in the United Kingdom on behalf of the Kibbutz Meuhad movement. He became in due course a member of the Histadrut executive and one of Mapai's leading publicists. He served on the editorial staff of *Davar* and the Jewish Agency "Maarachoth" and from 1948-49 was editor of the Mapai daily newspaper *Hador*. He also edited the Haganah underground news sheet from 1941-47. He became very anti-Soviet and now edits his own weekly paper *Beterem*. In 1950 he declined an offer of the post of Director of the Voice of America Hebrew broadcasts. He is a member of the Zionist Executive and the Mapai Secretariat and a founder of the Israel-America Friendship League.

Mr. Livneh is able and a forceful speaker; although much criticised within the party for his

comparatively luxurious way of life, he is recognised as an authority on foreign affairs on which he often takes an independent line. He professes admiration for the United Kingdom, though he is generally critical of our "passive" policy towards the Arab-Israel dispute.

80. Locker, Berl

Chairman, Jewish Agency Executive (1948).

Born in 1888 in Russia. Studied economics and political science at Czernowitz University. Came to Palestine before the First World War and helped to found the labour movement. Originally member of the Poalei Zion party (World Secretary 1918-28 and United States Secretary 1928-31) he later joined Mapai. Member of the Jewish Agency Executive since 1931 and its representative in London from 1937 onwards, he succeeded Mr. Ben-Gurion as its chairman in 1948. He was re-elected chairman in 1951 and is also joint president of the Foundation Fund (Keren Hayesod).

Mr. Locker has spent a large part of his life abroad. He took an active part in the World Federation of Trade Unions as representative of the Histadrut. He speaks fluent English, and is friendly but not very impressive.

81. Lourie, Arthur

Assistant Director-General and head of the the British Commonwealth Division, Ministry for Foreign Affairs (1953).

Born in South Africa in 1903. Educated at Cape Town, Cambridge and Harvard (M.A. LL.B.). Was in private law practice in South Africa and lecturer in Roman Dutch Law at the Witwatersrand University 1927-32. Political secretary to the Jewish Agency in London 1933. After the Second World War he became director of the United Nations office of the Jewish Agency in New York and in 1946 he was liaison officer with the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry in Palestine. In 1948 he became Israel Consul-General in New York and Deputy Permanent Representative of Israel to the United Nations. In 1950 he was given the personal rank of Minister. He returned to Israel in 1953 to take up his present duties. Mr. Lourie is intelligent, with an unobtrusive personality, and is generally as helpful and quiet constructive as he can be within the limits of his authority. He is married and has two children.

82. Makleff, Mordechai

Born in 1920 at Motza, Palestine, of a family most of whose members were murdered by Arabs in 1929. Graduate of the Technical College, Haifa. On leaving it, joined Wingate's "night squads" and served in the Haganah. Joined the British Army in 1941 and served till 1945, first with the Buffs in the Middle East and then in the Jewish Brigade in Europe, rising to the rank of major. Was an officer of the Israel unit which took Haifa from the Arabs in April, 1948, and subsequently fought as junior and senior officer (Divisional Chief of Staff) throughout the 1948 campaign in Galilee. Headed the military delegation at the armistice negotiations with Lebanon and with Syria, 1949, and then became Director of Staff Duties and in November 1949 Deputy Chief of Staff. Attended a course at the Administrative Staff College, Henley, in 1952, and subsequently visited the United States. In December 1952, he was appointed Chief of Staff (i.e. Commander-in-Chief of all three services) in succession to General Yadin and promoted to "Rav Aloof."

Although he had made a high reputation as a fighter in Israel and was undoubtedly an able

administrator, he lacked the personality for his high office as Chief of Staff and this was, no doubt, one of the reasons for his replacement by General Dayan in December 1953.

He speaks English and Arabic. Married.

83. Mazar, Dr. Benjamin

President and Rector of the Hebrew University (1953).

Born Grodno, Poland, in 1906. Educated at schools in Russia and Germany and at the Universities of Berlin and Giessen (Ph.D., 1938). Came to Palestine in 1929 and worked as an archaeologist, carrying out a number of excavations. Connected with the Hebrew University since 1943, he was chairman of its Institute of Jewish Studies and lecturer on the historical geography of Palestine. In 1951 he was elected to a professorship at the University, and in June 1952 he became Rector. In March 1953 he was also elected president of the University.

Dr. Mazar is married to the daughter of the President.

84. Meron, Dr. Gershon Yaakov

Economist and General Manager of the Israel Fuel Corporation (1951).

Born 1904 at Mannheim, Germany. Studied at the University of Heidelberg where he took the degrees of doctor of laws and doctor of economic science. Lecturer in commercial law, 1928. Served in various Government capacities, 1929-32. Left Germany in 1932 for Palestine where he was first employed with Barclays Bank. Manager of the Jacob Japhet Bank, Tel Aviv, 1934-35. Financial and economic adviser to Solel Boneh, 1945-48. Director of the Economic Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1948-51. During 1950 was also for some months Director-General of the Ministry of Trade and Industry. Became General Manager of the Israel Fuel Corporation, September 1951.

Has written several books on sociological, economic and legal subjects and on Germany. Published, 1944, "Jewish Labour Economy in Palestine" in co-operation with Ernest Kahn, and, 1947, "Labour Enterprise in Palestine." Extremely intelligent, Dr. Meron is a friendly and likeable person, strongly pro-British and keen to strengthen Anglo-Israel relations. In spite of a somewhat sorrowful demeanour, he has a strong sense of quiet humour.

85. Mikunis, Shmuel

Communist M.K. (1949) and secretary-general of the Israel Communist Party.

Born in 1904 in Poland. Came to Palestine in 1921. Employed by the Shell Company as an engineer in Tel Aviv and was at one time an actor at the "Ohel" Theatre, of which he was one of the founders. Worked with the League for Jewish-Arab Rapprochement. Imprisoned in 1941 for illegal Communist activities. Published *Kol Ha'am* in Tel Aviv, 1944, and was at one time Secretary-General of the League for Friendly Relations with the U.S.S.R. Studied tactics and propaganda methods of Communist organisations in France and after the World War was in touch with French resistance and Jewish Communist circles. Communist member of the Elected Assembly, 1944. Elected leader of the Palestine Communist Party in 1945. As such, he represented the Party at the British Empire Communist Parties Conference in London, 1947, became Member of the Provisional Council of State, 1948. In 1948 he arranged a merger with local Arab Communist elements and was elected

Deputy, 1949, at the head of the combined "Israel Communist Party" list. In the summer of 1949 he made a tour of East European capitals. In February 1951 he was summoned for organising illegal demonstrations against General Robertson. He visited Moscow in 1952.

Although Mr. Mikunis is reported to have been taken severely to task by the Cominform on various issues and for a time his power within the Communist Party diminished, he is now re-established and is a well respected leader of the party. All through he has remained a consistent supporter of Russian policy and virulent critic of the Government. He speaks fluent Russian and Yiddish.

86. Myerson, Mrs. Golda

Minister of Labour (1949).

Born in 1898 at Kiev. 1906, emigrated with her father, a carpenter, to Milwaukee, United States, where she attended high school, graduated at the Teachers' Training College (1920) and joined the Poalei Zion (Socialist-Zionist) Party. Settled in Palestine in 1921, starting as member and agricultural labourer of Merhavia Kibbutz (Hashomer Hatsair), 1921-24. With Solel Boneh, 1924-26. Since 1928, member of the Working Women's Council and its representative in the Histadrut Executive. Associated with Mapai since its foundation (1930). Very active as Histadrut fund-raiser, frequently visiting the United States and the United Kingdom; spent the whole of 1932-33 in America in this capacity. Delegate to Zionist Congresses since 1929 and to the Imperial Labour Conference, London, 1930. Member of the Zionist General Council. Chairman of the Sick Fund (Kupat Holim), 1936-48. Member of the Va'ad Leumi, 1938-48. Director of a number of local economic and cultural institutions. Head of the Histadrut Political Department from 1940 and secretary of the Histadrut Executive, 1945-46. Member of the War Economic Advisory Council set up in 1943. Acting head of the Jewish Agency Political Department during the internment of political leaders in 1946, and head of its Jerusalem branch, 1947.

In May, 1948, Mrs. Myerson became member of the Provisional Council of State but resigned from it on appointment as Israel Minister in Moscow (August 1948 to April 1949). Elected a Mapai M.K. in 1949, she became Minister of Labour and Social Insurance, a post which she has held since that time. Mrs. Myerson is a strong and attractive personality and a good speaker, being probably Israel's best fund-raiser in the United States. She made no headway with the Russians and was not happy in Moscow, but with her organising capacity and long experience of labour questions she is well fitted for her present post. Her husband died in May 1951. In 1953 she led the Israel delegation to the second half of the United Nations General Assembly.

87. Namir, Mordechai

General Secretary of the Histadrut (1950) and Mapai M.K. (1951).

Born Bratolubovka, Ukraine in 1897. Educated in Russia. Came to Palestine in 1924. Worked as an unskilled labourer and then as circulation manager of the Labour newspaper *Davar*. He then worked for some time as secretary of the Tel-Aviv branch of Achdut Avoda (the Jewish Labour Party) and on his own account as a statistician. In 1929 he was made director of the Statistical Department of the Histadrut. In 1933 he became also a municipal councillor in Tel-Aviv. In 1940 he was detained by the Palestine Government on charges of agitating against the 1939 White Paper and the Land Transfer Regulations. In 1943 he became Secretary-General of Mapai and from 1944-48 he was head

resigned as Minister of Justice. He returned to the Ministry shortly afterwards when the Progressives reconsidered their stand.

Mr. Rosen is a sound lawyer, specialising in company law, but he suffers from a certain germanic pedantry and heaviness. In political outlook he is a moderate liberal, and is well-disposed to the United Kingdom. He is generally respected.

99. Rosette, Maurice

Clerk of the Knesset.

Born in London in 1903. Educated at London University, and the University of Wales. He became chief cost clerk of the Stepney Municipality and was active in Jewish and trade union affairs. He stood unsuccessfully for Parliament. In due course he became head of the Information Department and parliamentary agent of the Jewish Agency in London, a member of the board of deputies of British Jews, chairman of the Political Committee of Poale Zion in England and secretary of the Jewish National Board for Great Britain. He settled in Israel in 1949 and became clerk of the Knesset. In 1950 he accompanied the Israel Parliamentary Delegation to the United Kingdom.

Mr. Rosette's knowledge of British political life and methods is various and extensive. He is pleasant and intelligent and well informed on parliamentary and constitutional matters. Mr. Mikardo, M.P., is married to his sister.

100. Sahar, Yehezkel

Inspector-General of Police (1948).

Born in 1907 at Jerusalem. Studied at the High School of Commerce, Tel Aviv. Worked for several years in the Anglo-Palestine Bank. In 1933 studied at the London School of Economics and while there was private secretary to Dr. Weizmann, 1940, on a Zionist mission to the United States. 1941, enlisted and served with the Eighth Army in the Western Desert as commander of a Palestine R.A.S.C. Company. Discharged as major after serving in Austria. He subsequently acted as liaison officer between the Jewish Agency and British Headquarters in Palestine. A veteran of the Haganah, he became Inspector-General of Police and Director-General of the Ministry of Police at the foundation of the State. In January, 1950, his rank was made equivalent to that of Chief of Staff (rav-alooft).

Mr. Sahar, though critical of British handling of security in the mandatory period, is friendly and intelligent and seems desirous of maintaining British traditions in the Israel Police Force. In 1949 he spent several weeks in the United Kingdom, France and the United States studying police organisations and methods. On his return his enthusiasm for Scotland Yard was almost unbounded.

101. Saphir, Yosef

Minister of Communications (1954).

Born in Jaffa in 1902, educated in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem and became a farmer and citrus grower, joining the Executive of the Farmers' Federation in 1938. In 1939 he became the managing director of the Pardess Syndicate, one of the largest citrus growing co-operatives. A year later he became Mayor of Petah Tiqva, a post he held until 1951, becoming chairman of the Home Affairs Committee. When in 1952 the General Zionists entered the Government he was appointed Minister of Health but on his return from abroad he insisted on being given the Ministry of Communications and exchanged portfolios with Mr. Serlin. He remains as Minister of Communications under Mr. Sharett. He is a man of considerable determination and organising ability and seems well-disposed to the United Kingdom. He is married and has two daughters.

102. Sasson, Eliahu

Minister to Italy (1952).

Born before 1898 at Aleppo. Brought up in Syria and studied in Turkey. At one time he was a teacher in the French-Jewish School of the Alliance Israélite at Damascus. Active at first in the Syrian nationalist movement, he later devoted himself entirely to Zionism and became (about 1936) head of the Arab Section of the Jewish Agency's Political Department in Jerusalem. Head of the Middle East Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1948. Took a leading part in the armistice negotiations at Rhodes and headed the Israel delegation to the Conciliation Commission in Lausanne (1949) with the rank of Minister. At the end of 1949 he was appointed first Israel Minister to Turkey. In 1952 he was transferred to Rome.

Mr. Sasson speaks perfect Arabic. While working for the Jewish Agency he established the reputation of being not only a connoisseur of Middle East affairs but also *persona grata* with many leading Arab politicians. He is one of the few Sephardic Jews in the Israeli Foreign Service.

103. Schocken, Gustav Gershon

Newspaper editor.

Born in 1912 at Zwickau (Saxony) where his father owned a chain store network. Educated at Universities of Heidelberg and London (Social Science). In Palestine since 1933. His family founded Schocken Verlag in Berlin (1931-39) and he is director of its Palestine branch (Schocken Publishing House, Ltd.). In 1937 he and his father took over publication of the principal Hebrew paper of the country, the independent *Ha'aretz*, which he has since edited.

Mr. Schocken speaks fluent English. He has a cosmopolitan outlook in contrast to the somewhat limited horizon of many of his journalist colleagues. Visited United Kingdom officially in 1950.

104. Serlin, Yosef

Minister of Health (1954).

Born in Bialystok in 1906 and educated at Lwow and Warsaw University. He became a lawyer and in 1930, private secretary to the prominent Zionist, Nahum Sokolov. He came to Palestine in 1933 as an active Zionist, establishing himself in the practice of law and commercial enterprise and becoming chairman of the political committee of the Karen Hayesod, deputy chairman of the World Union of General Zionists and a member of the Council of the World Zionist Organisation. In 1949 he was elected to the Knesset on the General Zionist list and in 1950 he visited England with the Israel Parliamentary delegation. He was re-elected to the second Knesset in 1951 and became one of the deputy speakers. When the General Zionists entered the Government in 1952 he was appointed Minister of Communications but immediately afterwards had to relinquish this post to Mr. Saphir and take on the Ministry of Health; he holds the same portfolio in Mr. Sharett's Cabinet. He does not appear to be a very forceful personality and has not as yet made any great mark. He is married and has two sons.

105. Shalev, Arie, Sgan Aluf (Lieutenant-Colonel)

Senior Israel Representative to the Mixed Armistice Commissions.

Born in Palestine at Ra'anana in 1925, and educated locally. During the Mandate he served for 3½ years with the Settlement Police Force as a senior n.c.o. He was a member of the Haganah, and during the Israel-Arab war served as a company commander. After the signature of the Armistice Agreements, he was a member of the Israel delegation to the Israel-Syrian M.A.C., and later became Senior Representative. He now acts as Senior

Representative to all the M.A.C's. He has passed the Senior Officers' Course of the Israel Defence Forces.

Though not an outstanding personality, he is, nevertheless, an astute and capable officer, who lacks none of the fervour and zeal which characterises most of the senior officers of the Israel Defence Forces. He is married and speaks English and Arabic, in addition to Hebrew.

106. Shaltiel, Aloof (Brigadier) David

Minister at Rio de Janeiro (1951).

Born in 1903 in Germany. Served as an officer in the French Foreign Legion during the Riff War. Came to Palestine in 1924 and joined the Haganah. Went to Europe to obtain arms for it, was imprisoned by the Nazis and tortured by the Gestapo. Returned to Palestine in 1941 as an exchange prisoner, and received the underground Haganah appointment of Area Commander in Haifa and then (till February, 1948) Chief of Intelligence. Commanded the Israel Brigade in Jerusalem throughout the siege of 1948 but was later removed, reportedly for failure to capture the whole city. In October, 1948, he was in charge of the investigation of the activities of dissident military groups. He then visited Czechoslovakia and several South American States, and on return was appointed Inspector General of the Army. He relinquished the post on becoming Commander of the Frontier Force in November, 1949, but was found too independent and unorthodox for the latter and removed in April, 1950, on being appointed Military Attaché for France and Benelux countries, with residence at Paris. Appointed Minister to Brazil in 1951. Since November 1952, he has also acted as Minister to Venezuela. Friendly and entertaining with a charming wife.

107. Shapira, Moshe

Minister of Social Welfare and Religious Affairs (1954).

Born in 1899 at Grodno (Poland). Son of a rabbi, he was educated at the Rabbinical Seminary, Grodno, worked for a time in the Ministry of Jewish Affairs, Lithuania, and in 1924-25 studied in the Berlin Rabbinical Seminary. An active Zionist from early youth and a founder of the Religious Workers Party (Hapoel Hamizrachi). Represented it at World Zionist Congresses since 1923 and became its outstanding leader and chairman in Palestine, where he settled in 1925. Member of the Zionist General Council since 1927. Elected alternate member of the Jewish Agency Executive in 1935 and since then associated with its Immigration Department. Full member of the Executive, 1945-48. Represented Hapoel Hamizrachi in the Provisional Council of State, 1948, and was Minister of Immigration and Health in the Provisional Government. Negotiated a merger (the Religious bloc) with the Mizrachi and Agudist parties for the elections of 1949 and was returned as M.K. In the new Government he continued as Minister of Immigration and of Health and also became Minister of the Interior. Relations between him and his Mapai colleagues broke down early in 1951, but after the elections he retained the Ministry of Interior in the new coalition, relinquishing the Ministries of Health and Immigration but assuming that of Religious Affairs as a new responsibility. On the entry of the General Zionists into the Coalition in December 1952, he relinquished the Ministry of Interior but retained that of Religious Affairs and in addition took on the Social Welfare portfolio. He continues to hold both portfolios under Mr. Sharett.

For over twenty years he has struggled to avoid a split in Hapoel Hamizrachi over the question of

whether it should join the Histadrut—a course to which he is opposed. He is said to devote all his spare time to Talmudic study.

108. Sharett, Moshe

Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs (1954).

Born in 1894 at Kherson (Ukraine). Emigrated to Palestine with his parents 1906. Educated at Herzliya Gymnasia, Tel Aviv. Studied law at Istanbul University (1913-14). 1915-18, served as Turkish Army officer (interpreter attached to German liaison staff). 1918-20, on the staff of the Zionist Commission, Jerusalem, and active in the Hitachdut (United Labour) movement. Spent 1920-25 in England, taking B.Sc. degree at London School of Economics and entering the English Executive of Poalei Zion, which he represented at British Labour Party conference. 1925-31, on the editorial staff of the Histadrut organ *Davar*, of which he also produced a weekly edition in English. Joined Mapai on its foundation, 1930, and was later elected to its Executive. 1931-33, private secretary to Arlosoroff, Head of the Jewish Agency Political Department; succeeded him as its Head in 1933 and retained the position, with membership of the Executive, till 1948. In this capacity, was the Agency's main channel of contact with the Government of Palestine and went on numerous missions abroad. During the Second World War was head of the Jewish Agency's Recruiting Department and active in promoting the formation of the Jewish Brigade group. Was one of the Jewish leaders interned at Latrun, 1946. Re-appointed head of the Political Department by the Zionist Congress of December, 1946, but with orders to head it from Washington, he was throughout 1947 the Agency's principal delegate to the United Nations Organisation. In 1948 he became member of the Provisional Council of State and Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Provisional Government, and was later obliged to resign from the Jewish Agency Executive. Elected M.K. (No. 2 on the Mapai list) in 1949 and again in 1951, he continued as Minister for Foreign Affairs. He acted as Prime Minister when Mr. Ben-Gurion and Mr. Kaplan were away in 1951, and visited the United Kingdom in 1952. In January 1954 he succeeded Mr. Ben-Gurion as Prime Minister, retaining at the same time the office of Foreign Minister.

Mr. Sharett is an agreeable individual, a remarkable linguist, a voluble talker, and a very quick worker. He is identified with a policy of reasonableness in the handling of foreign affairs in contrast to the more ruthless approach and single-mindedness of Mr. Ben-Gurion. During his term as Prime Minister he has considerably increased his reputation in the country and within his own party. He has skilfully held together a turbulent coalition and has largely succeeded in restraining the more excitable elements within his party.

109. Sharif, Zeev

Secretary of the Government (1948).

Born at Seletin in 1906. Began his career in the Jewish Agency and in 1947 was secretary of its Political Department. From November 1947, he was secretary of an Emergency Committee of thirteen political leaders which made technical preparations for the establishment of an independent administration. When in March 1948, this gave place to the bodies which later emerged as the Provisional Council of State and Provisional Government of Israel, he continued to act as their principal secretary, and under a further reorganisation he became head of the Prime Minister's office, with the title of "Secretary of the Cabinet and Director-General." In April

1951 he was superseded as head of the Prime Minister's office, but he remained Secretary of the Government.

110. Shenkar, Arie Leib

President, Manufacturers' Association (1925). President, Anglo-Israel Chamber of Commerce. Born in 1877 in Kiev Province, Ukraine. Was a textile manufacturer in Moscow for many years. In 1908 he came to Palestine and purchased land for members of a group of which he was treasurer and vice-president. Returning again in 1924 he founded the Lodzia Textile Company, of which he is owner and Managing Director, and the Industrial Bank of Palestine, of which he is Chairman. President of the Manufacturers' Association since its foundation in 1925. Chairman of the Industrial Credit Council of the Palestine Corporation (London) and a Director of the Tel Aviv Development Company.

Mr. Shenkar is a highly respectable old man. He is not happy in the modern world of controlled economy and has made vigorous public attacks on the policy of the Government. He does not speak English.

111. Shiloah, Reuven

Minister, Israel Embassy in Washington, 1953. Born in 1909 at Jerusalem. One of a family of five. His father is a Jerusalem Rabbi. Educated at the Hebrew University and the Teachers' Seminary, Jerusalem. Specialised in Arabic studies and has travelled extensively in the Middle East. Early connected with the Haganah; organiser of its Arab intelligence service. Taught Arabic in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv and from 1935 to 1937 was a teacher at the Alliance School at Bagdad. Visited Kurdistan in 1932. In 1932 he was editor of the Arab section of the *Palestine Post*. Friend of Arlosoroff, who interested him in the Socialist youth movement. As assistant political secretary, Histadrut Executive, in charge of Arab affairs (1932-36), he helped to found the Arab Association of Palestine Workers. During the riots of 1936 he was lent by the Histadrut to the Jewish Agency's Political Department and remained in it till 1948. He became head of the Intelligence Section of the Haganah and was for many years liaison officer between the Political Department and British military authorities, including General Wingate. Member of the Jewish Delegation at the Round Table Conference in London (1939). During the World War, as Jewish liaison officer, he assisted the Allies in planning operations behind the enemy lines in neighbouring Arab States and Europe. Went to San Francisco in 1945 as a Jewish Agency delegate to the United Nations Conference and remained in America and Europe for over a year, including a special Haganah mission in the United States and service in the Jewish Agency office in London (1946), and as Mr. Ben-Gurion's secretary while in Paris. On the establishment of the State of Israel he became "Special Adviser" in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, holding the third place in its hierarchy. Took a leading part in discussions with the Conciliation Commission at Lausanne (1949) and in secret negotiations with Jordan (1949-51). Was a member of the Israel delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations, 1950.

Mr. Shiloah is a serious and sinister-looking individual with a scar across his rather Asiatic features, acquired in the bombing of the Jewish Agency. He improves on closer acquaintance. He is able but probably unscrupulous where his country's interests are concerned. He was responsible for Israel's intelligence services from 1948-52. His wife is American.

He was appointed Minister to the Israel Embassy in Washington in August 1953.

112. Shinnar, Pinhas E.

Head of Israel Purchasing Mission at Cologne (1953).

Born in Stuttgart in 1905 and educated at high school there and at the Universities of Heidelberg, Tuebingen and Frankfurt. Was manager of a trust company in Germany and official receiver at a Magistrates' Court in Berlin before coming to Palestine in 1934. Since coming to Israel he has held many important posts in the economic and commercial world. He has been a director of investment companies and of the leading Hebrew newspaper *Ha'aretz* and Controller of Fuel at the Ministry of Finance, and he was for some time Director of the Department for "Imports without Payment." He was also for some time Economic Counsellor at the Israel Legation in London. On his return to Israel in 1951 he became Adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on German Affairs and a director of the Israel Petroleum Distribution Company. He was put in charge of the negotiations for a Reparations Agreement with Germany in 1952 and carried the negotiations through to a successful conclusion. In April 1953, he was appointed head of the Israel Purchasing Commission in Germany with the personal rank of Minister, and was put in charge of all purchases made under the Reparations Agreement. Before accepting this post he insisted on being given wide powers and considerable discretion.

113. Shitreet, Behor Shalom

Minister of Police (1954).

Born in 1895 at Tiberias of an old-established Arabic-speaking family. Educated at the "Alliance Israelite" School and Rabbinical College, Tiberias, and later (1926-30) at the Law Classes, Jerusalem. Though a Sephardi, he joined the Zionist Movement in 1910. Started as a teacher of French, Hebrew and Arabic and later worked in his father's business. In 1919 he joined the Police Force under British military administration and subsequently made a career in the Department of Police and Prisons of the Government of Palestine, specialising in criminal investigation. 1927, Assistant Superintendent of Police, Tel Aviv. Instructor (1928) and head (1931) of the Police School in Jerusalem. Left the Police in 1935 to become Magistrate, sitting in Jaffa, Tel Aviv, Haifa and other courts. Chief Magistrate, Tel Aviv, 1945; Senior Magistrate, 1947. From 1942 onwards he helped to organise the Sephardim in defence of their rights in the Jewish community and later became chairman of the Sephardic Committee formed for this purpose. As such he entered the Provisional Council of State, 1948, and became Minister of Police and of Minorities in the Provisional Government. Later in the year he pledged his support for a "Popular Party," but as it did not materialise, he headed in 1949 the list of the "Union of Sephardic and Levantine Communities" of which he and three others were elected members of the Knesset. In the new Government he carried on with the same two portfolios, but that of Minorities was abolished in June 1949. In 1951, following the disintegration of the Sephardim movement, he was included in the Mapai list for the elections. He led the Israel delegation to the international conference of Sephardic Jews in Paris in 1951 and is a vice-president of the World Federation of Sephardic Communities. He retains the post of Minister of Police in Mr. Sharett's coalition.

Mr. Shitreet is a leisurely and expansive oriental who is as much at home with Arabs as with Jews. Though he has little education and no European experience, he was a competent magistrate, courageous, hard-working and with a reputation for honesty. He appears to be keen on maintaining British traditions in the Israel Police Force.

114. Sieff, Rebecca

World President, Women's International Zionist Organisation (W.I.Z.O.).

Educated at Manchester University. In 1920, in collaboration with Mrs. Weizmann, she founded and became first President of the London branch of W.I.Z.O. After holding various high offices in the Organisation in the United Kingdom, she was elected World President in 1949. She has since travelled widely on behalf of the Organisation, and devotes her time almost entirely to it.

Mrs. Sieff, who is the wife of Israel Sieff and the sister of Sir Simon Marks, has made Israel her home and is now a distinctive feature of the Israel landscape; she appears to regard herself as equally British and Israeli. She has an explosive personality and seems endowed with inexhaustible energy. When in Israel she entertains extensively at her attractive English-style home in Tel Mond.

115. Simon, Dr. Michael

Chief of Protocol at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Born on September 19, 1901 at Berlin. Studied at the Universities of Berlin, Frankfurt and Tuebingen. Dr. Simon came to Israel in 1924, and in 1925 and 1926 was a teacher at the Hebrew Secondary School at Haifa. In 1926 and 1927 he served as secretary of the Zionist Executive in Jerusalem and in the following year he was appointed as editor of the Official Gazette of the Government of Palestine in which position he served until 1934. He then took up an appointment as general secretary of the Migdal Insurance Company. From 1945 to 1948 Dr. Simon was director of the Jewish Agency Department for Resettlement of Ex-Servicemen. He was a veteran member of the Haganah and participated in actions in 1929 and 1936-40, also in the defence of Jerusalem in 1947-48. Dr. Simon has written numerous articles on history, education and physical training and is the author of a book on "Physical Culture and National Education."

Dr. Simon is a hardworking, somewhat fussy, but on the whole capable bureaucrat, with a wide knowledge and considerable experience. In his job as the first Chief of Protocol he has been ready to recognise his inexperience, and to ask advice from members of the diplomatic corps. He is an enthusiastic sailor and is a reserve officer in the Israel Navy with a proper admiration for the Royal Navy. He is not without a sense of humour of the German type, and is generally pro-British.

He has an intelligent, friendly and voluble wife.

116. Smoira, Moshe

President, Supreme Court (1948).

Born in 1888 at Königsberg. Studied at Universities of Königsberg, Munich, Berlin (law), Giessen, Heidelberg, Frankfurt (Semitics). Served in the German army, 1912-18. Legal practice in Berlin and, since 1923, in Palestine. Lecturer at the Law Classes, Jerusalem, from 1923. Member of the Council of Legal Studies from 1925. Was legal adviser to the Histadrut. President of the Supreme Court in Jerusalem since its inauguration in September 1948.

Dr. Smoira is a sound legal expert, but learned rather than profound. Under his chairmanship the Supreme Court has proved an impartial body independent of political influence. Not well versed in criminal law. Slightly pompous. He is a vice-chairman of the Hebrew University.

117. Sneh, Dr. Moshe

Communist M.K. (1954).

Born in 1899 at Radzyn (Poland). Graduated in medicine at Warsaw University (M.D.) but took up journalism and politics, becoming chairman of the Zionist Students' Organisation and later leader of the

General Zionist Organisation in Poland. A delegate to Zionist Congresses from 1933, he was elected member of the Zionist Actions Committee in 1935. In 1939 he served as captain in the Polish army, was taken prisoner by the Russians, escaped and reached Palestine via France in 1940. From 1940 to 1946 he served on the staff of the Haganah underground forces, becoming Chief of Staff by 1944, and engaged in organising illegal immigration. He was also active in politics in the "A" Group of General Zionists. In 1945-46 he took a leading part in bringing together the General Zionists "A" and "B" (Left and Right wings) and for a short time presided over the united party. In 1945 he also entered the Jewish Agency Executive and acted as its ambassador at large in Europe.

During this period Dr. Sneh adopted a pro-Soviet orientation and at the end of 1947, having quarrelled with the General Zionist Party and the Jewish Agency, he resigned from both and took a leading part in founding the leftist United Labour Party (Mapam). Though, unlike other participants, he brought with him no organised body, he became a member of the Mapam Central Committee and of the editorial board of the party's newspaper *Al Hamishmar*. In July 1948 he attended the World Jewish Congress and sided with the East European delegates who tried to give it a pro-Soviet bias. Elected Mapam M.K. in 1949, he led the extreme Left wing of the party and in 1949-50 was influential in preventing it from joining Mapai in the Government coalition. He became the leading spirit in the Israel branch of the Soviet-sponsored "Peace Movement" and secretary of the League for Friendship with the U.S.S.R. Re-elected to the Second Knesset in 1951. In January 1953, he and his supporters broke away from Mapam and formed the "Left Faction," an extreme pro-Soviet group collaborating closely with the Communist Party. In October 1954, the "Faction" disbanded and Sneh formally joined the Communist Party.

Dr. Sneh is a good speaker and a clever man, but is regarded by his political opponents as an insincere schemer who turned pro-Soviet for reasons of personal ambition. However, he has not profited from his intrigues for, despite his ability, he is less popular with the Communists than the present leader, Mikunis, and is distrusted by all other parties. He is at present responsible for the preparation of the Communist Party's manifestos and, in that capacity, should prove a valuable asset.

118. Sprinzak, Joseph

Speaker of the Knesset (1949).

Born in 1886 in Russia. University studies in Russia and Switzerland. Came to Palestine in 1909, already a Zionist-Socialist, and entered the labour movement becoming a leading member of Mapai. Repeatedly represented the Histadrut, of which he was one of the founders, at Zionist congresses; is chairman of the Zionist General Council Presidium. For many years member of the Histadrut Executive, he was its secretary-general from 1935 to 1949. On the board of directors of the Jewish National Fund, Foundation Fund and various other institutions. Was member of the Elected Assembly and Va'ad Leumi Executive. In August 1948 he entered the Provisional Council of State (replacing Mrs. Myerson) and soon after was elected its chairman. Elected Deputy (5th on the Mapai list) in 1949 and president (Speaker) of the Knesset, he relinquished the General Secretariat of the Histadrut in July. During Dr. Weizmann's absences abroad in 1949 and 1950 he acted as President of Israel and in 1951 became acting President for the duration of Dr. Weizmann's illness. Re-elected to the Second Knesset in 1951 and re-elected Speaker.

Mr. Sprinzak is a good chairman with a strong sense of humour and is generally liked and respected in the Knesset, but in his conduct of parliamentary procedure he frequently shows bias in favour of Mapai and the Government coalition. A small thick-set man with a large drooping moustache, he cuts a slightly comical figure. A prominent sponsor of cultural and educational institutions. Speaks very little English but is outwardly friendly. A close friend of Mr. Ben-Gurion.

119. Tolkowsky, Aloof Mishne (Colonel) Dan

Commander of the Air Force (1953).

Born in Tel Aviv in 1921. Educated in England (B.Sc.). Joined the R.A.F. in 1942 and served as a fighter pilot in 238 Squadron in the Mediterranean theatre from 1943-44. Released as a Flight Lieutenant in 1945. Joined the Israel Air Force in 1948 and played a leading part in planning operations in the Palestine War as a Deputy Director of Operations. In 1950 he was appointed Inspector General, but in 1951 he retired. He was recalled shortly afterwards and appointed Deputy Air Officer Commanding, succeeding Aloof Laskov as Air Officer Commanding in May 1953. Aloof Mishne Tolkowsky, who is the son of the Israel Minister to Switzerland, speaks Hebrew, French and perfect English and is the most highly educated and cultivated of the air force commanders, but beneath a polished manner he is intensely nationalistic, shrewd, secretive and aggressive.

120. Toubi, Tewfik

Communist M.K. (1949).

Born in 1922 at Haifa. A founder of the Arab Workers' Congress and one of the leaders of the Arab League for National Liberation, he followed the latter when in 1948 it merged with the (Jewish) Palestine Communist Party to form the united Israel Communist Party. Elected M.K. in 1949 (second on the Communist list) he has been very active in voicing Arab grievances before the Knesset, in the "Peace Movement" and in other forms of agitation. In the summer of 1949 he accompanied Mikunis on a tour of East European capitals. In 1950 he attended the Warsaw Peace Conference and was elected a member of its Presidium. He has since attended other Communist Peace Conferences in Berlin, Vienna and Paris. Re-elected to the Second Knesset in 1951. He visited Moscow with Mikunis in 1952.

He is a Greek Orthodox Christian and is married to a Jewess. He is also alleged to be a former colleague of Haj Amin el Hussein.

121. Tsur, Yaacov

Israel Ambassador at Paris (1953).

Born at Wilna in 1906 and educated at Jerusalem and at the Universities of Florence and Paris. He came to Palestine in 1921 and in 1926 was employed by the Tel Aviv municipality. He joined the editorial board of *Ha'aretz* in 1929 and later worked in the headquarters of the Jewish National Fund. He was the Jewish Agency's representative in Egypt from 1943-45 and from 1947-48 was chairman of the Mobilisation Committee in Jerusalem. He went to the Argentine as Minister in June 1949, and was described by Her Majesty's Ambassador at Buenos Aires as a thoughtful-minded and friendly colleague with an agreeable wife. He speaks fluent English and Russian.

122. Wahrhaftig, Zerach

Hapoel Hamizrachi M.K. (1949).

Born in Warsaw in 1902. Educated at a Yeshiva and at Warsaw University. He was in private legal practice from 1933 to 1939 and lived in the United States before coming to Palestine in 1945. He was vice-president of Hapoel Hamizrachi, chairman

of the Central Palestine Office from 1936 to 1939 and deputy director of the Institute of Jewish Affairs in New York from 1942 to 1947. From 1947 to 1948 was director of the Law Department of the Va'ad Leumi in Jerusalem. In 1948 became director of the Research Institute for Jewish Law at the Ministry of Justice. He was a member of the Provisional Government Council from 1947 to 1948, and was elected a M.K. in 1949 and in 1951, when he was appointed Deputy Minister for Religious Affairs, a post to which he was reappointed in December 1952. For a few months he was also Chairman of the Knesset Legislation Committee.

He is a member of the Zionist General Council. In the Knesset he has considerable influence. He is an authority on a wide range of subjects, a Liberal, and a conscientious and earnest legislator. On religious matters he is less extreme than most members of the Orthodox parties.

123. Wilenska, Mrs. Esther

Communist M.K. (1951).

Born in Lithuania in 1918. Educated at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Came to Palestine as an immigrant in 1933. Joined the Communist Party and became a member of its Central Committee. Meier Wilner, also a Communist Deputy, was her first husband. She was elected to the Political Committee of the Palestine Communist Party in 1945 and to its Central Committee in 1946. She became head of its propaganda office in Haifa in the same year. In July 1951 she was elected to the Knesset on the Communist list. She has been a municipal councillor at Tel Aviv since 1950. Associate editor of the Communist newspaper *Kol Ha'am*.

She is certainly one of the leading Communists in Israel and displays great activity. She is thought to be very able, but entirely humourless. A good rabble-rouser, she is regarded by the Israel authorities as a force to be reckoned with.

124. Wilner, Meier

Communist M.K. (1949).

Born in Poland in 1919. Educated at the Hebrew University. Came to Palestine as an immigrant in 1938. Was a member of the Provisional State Council. M.K. 1949 and 1951. He has made a series of violent speeches in the Knesset and elsewhere and is often on the verge of being suspended. An active member of the Peace Movement and a member of the Communist Party's Central Committee and Politburo.

125. Wydra, Naphthali

Managing Director of Israel Navigation Company, Limited.

Born in Leipzig in 1909. A Doctor of Law and Economist. During the period 1933-36, he was manager of the Haifa Shipping Agency. From 1936-47, he acted as manager of the Maritime Department of the Jewish Agency. He is at present director and manager of "Zim" Israel Navigation Company, Limited, and Shoham Sea Services, Limited, in which capacity he exerts considerable influence on all policy affecting the country's merchant marine.

Dr. Wydra is a courteous man and an easy conversationalist.

126. Yaari, Meir

Mapam M.K. (1949).

Born Reshov (Galicia) in 1897. Educated in Poland, at Vienna University and at the Agricultural Institute in Vienna. Was a pupil of Sigmund Freud. Served in the Austrian army in the First World War. Came to Palestine in 1920. He was one of the founders of Hashomer Hatzair in Vienna and in

Palestine became one of the chief leaders of the party and a member of its world executive. He lives in Kibbutz Merhaviah and is a member of the executive of the Kibbutz Artzi. A member of the Zionist General Council and of the Histadrut Executive. In 1949 he was No. 2 on the Mapam list. He afterwards played a leading part in the abortive negotiations with Mapai for the forming of a coalition. In 1951 he was re-elected at the head of the party list.

Mr. Yaari is one of the real leaders of Mapam and one of the chief figures in the tightly disciplined Hashomer Hatzair. In the Knesset he has been content to leave Rittin to act as the party's spokesman. At the end of 1952, however, he led the opposition to Sneh in Mapam and eventually forced Sneh and his supporters out of the party in January 1953. He has been active in the peace movement and presided over its first public meeting in Tel Aviv. He is a member of the World Committee of the movement, attended the Warsaw Peace Conference in 1950 and was elected a member of its Presidium. He also attended the World Peace Council in Berlin in 1952.

Unspectacular but effective, he achieves his objectives by slow stages, but with the persistence of a termite.

127. Yadin, Rav-Aloof Yigal

Former Chief of Staff.

Born in 1918 at Jerusalem, son of Professor Sukenik the archaeologist. Studied at the Hebrew University (M.A., archaeology); specialised in history of ancient wars in Palestine and has published various studies. Served in the Haganah from 1933. Was in Wingate's "night squads." A senior Haganah staff officer till 1937, he was District Instructor, Jerusalem, in 1938. After the World War he appears to have been appointed head of a department for planning operations in support of the resistance movement in Palestine, but to have resigned and returned to civilian life in 1946 when the Jewish political leaders were interned. On the outbreak of disturbances following the United Nations Partition Resolution he was called back to active service in December 1947. From then till January 1949, as Chief Operations Officer he successfully directed the campaigns in Galilee, the Jerusalem corridor and the Negev. He then became chief of "G" Branch, took a leading part in the Rhodes armistice negotiations, went on a tour of European countries and in September 1949, was attached to the Prime Minister as personal military adviser. In November 1949, he was promoted to Rav-Aloof (the highest rank) and replaced Dori as Chief of Staff. Presumably in execution of Mr. Ben-Gurion's army policy, his appointment as Chief of Staff was followed by a weeding out of Mapam officers and various measures of military reorganisation. In December 1952, he resigned as Chief of Staff after differences with Mr. Ben-Gurion and was succeeded by the more amenable Makleff. He departed for England to study archeology.

Rav-Aloof Yadin combines the self-confidence of a locally-born "sabrah" with the learning of a Jewish scholar. He has an intimate knowledge of the Palestinian terrain. As Chief of Staff he was inclined to take himself too seriously, but he is fundamentally an agreeable and friendly person. He is undoubtedly able and it is probable that he will sooner or later return to power in Israel in some capacity. Speaks English and Arabic.

128. Zadok, Aloof (Brigadier) Moshe

Officer Commanding Northern Military Command.

Brigadier Zadok came to Palestine from Poland in 1926 at the age of 13 and is believed to have been an active member of the Haganah during most of its existence. He was Adjutant-General of the Israel Army until March 1950, then commanded "8th Command" (a reservists' organisation) until October 1951, when he took over the Southern Command. In the autumn of 1953 he attended the Senior Officers' School in Devizes, after which he took up his present appointment.

He is a kindly, pleasant little man, and is well respected for his shrewdness and commonsense. However, as a Senior Commander he is almost certainly lacking in personality, drive and military knowledge.

129. Zuubi, Seifeddin Muhammad

Arab Democrat M.K. (1949).

Born in Nazareth in 1913. Was employed for about ten years as a food inspector by the Nazareth Municipality. In 1944 he became a land broker and it became known that he was being paid by the Jewish National Fund, a fact which considerably embarrassed the Zuubi clan in Nazareth and Galilee. In 1947 his family, which had formed itself into a party, publicly disowned him for his active co-operation with the Jews. An attempt was made on his life by Arabs in 1947. In 1949 he was put up as an Arab candidate for the Knesset by Mapai against the wishes of his clan and was elected as one of the two Nazareth Democratic members. In 1951 he was re-elected on the "Israel Arab Democrats" list, who support the Government.

He owns property in Galilee. At the end of 1950 he owed the Jewish National Fund £1,700 and he is believed to have fallen further into debt during 1951. He knows little English or Hebrew and appears to be an opportunist with no strong convictions.

Obituary

Senator Dr. David Werner, O.B.E., Ph.D. Executive Vice-President of the Hebrew University.

Uziel, Ben Zion Meir Chai. Chief Rabbi of the Sefardim.